PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

SELECTED PAPERS

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

APRIL 17-23, 1948

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FOREWORD

THE 1948 *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work marks the Seventy-fifth Annual Meeting of the Conference. Our late Secretary, Howard R. Knight, had done much, before his untimely death, to make this Conference a significant celebration of our Diamond Jubilee. The Editorial Committee therefore considered it both fitting and proper to include in this volume, not only the memorial addresses given at the Conference, but also the tribute to Howard R. Knight by Leonard W. Mayo which appeared in the *Conference Bulletin* of October, 1947. The decision to include the pictures of the past presidents of the Conference, which were a part of the Anniversary Program, indicates the desire of the Committee to preserve in a more permanent form our memory of those identified with the development of the Conference.

This issue of the *Proceedings* also contains a number of papers given by representatives from other countries here to attend both this conference and the first meeting of the International Conference of Social Work held since the second World War.

The Editorial Committee responsible for the selection of manuscripts for publication was composed of Cora Kasius (New York), Florence Sytz (New Orleans), and Jane Chandler, Acting Executive Secretary of the Conference and Editor of the *Proceedings*. Because of the death of Kenneth L. M. Pray and the inability of Leonard W. Mayo to serve, Paul L. Benjamin (Schenectady) and Shelby M. Harrison (New York) were substitute members of the Committee.

There were 130 papers submitted to the Editorial Committee. In accordance with past procedure, papers given before associate groups affiliated with the Conference were not considered for publication. The Committee reviewed the 130 papers submitted to it and selected 52. Because of limitation in the size of the volume not all papers meeting the criteria of timeliness, pertinence, authenticity, and significance for present-day needs and for future record could be published. The omission of any manuscript is not a reflection on its value as a part of the Conference program.

The Conference as an open forum for the discussion of social welfare problems welcomes divergent points of view with respect to its subject matter. The publication of a manuscript, therefore, does not imply endorsement of the opinions stated by either the Conference or the Editorial Committee, and the exclusion of a paper does not imply lack of endorsement.

The Editorial Committee acknowledges its indebtedness to the authors who submitted manuscripts, to the section chairman who assisted in the evaluation of the papers, and to Dorothy M. Swart, of Columbia University Press, who has again so ably discharged her task of editing the manuscripts for publication.

FLORENCE SYTZ
Chairman, Editorial Committee

New Orleans, Louisiana
November 1, 1948

HOWARD R. KNIGHT

The Man and His Mission

JUNE 23, 1889–OCTOBER 7, 1947

IT WAS late afternoon on a June day in 1929. The Public Auditorium in San Francisco was dark and deserted as a lone Conference member made his way cautiously among the booths and chairs left in disarray following the close of the noon meeting. His destination was a room at the end of the huge building where he had left a notebook filled with gleanings from his first Conference.

Suddenly there came to his ears the unmistakable sound of a masculine voice raised in song: "Sunday School is over," it sang, "and I am going Home," and then with abandon and spirit, "Goodbye, goodbye, let us all be good and true." Somewhere at the back a light went on throwing weird shadows on the high walls, and the soloist came rapidly down the aisle with that characteristic swing all Conference members came to know so well. In a second or two he had caught up with the man in the auditorium, took his arm as though he had known him for years, and broke into animated conversation about the events of the week.

Although I had seen Howard Knight frequently during the week just passed, I had not actually met him until that moment. We walked together the length of the hall, found the notebook, picked up some belongings of the Conference, closed and locked the doors and then went our respective ways. Brief and casual as that meeting was, from that day on, I was a part of the National Conference of Social Work.

The scores of letters and wires received at Mr. Knight's home and office following his death gave evidence that people the country over experienced a similar sense of identification with the Conference through its General Secretary. He had so much conviction about the importance of the Conference and its purposes that it was contagious. He believed in it, with all his heart. For nearly twenty-five years,

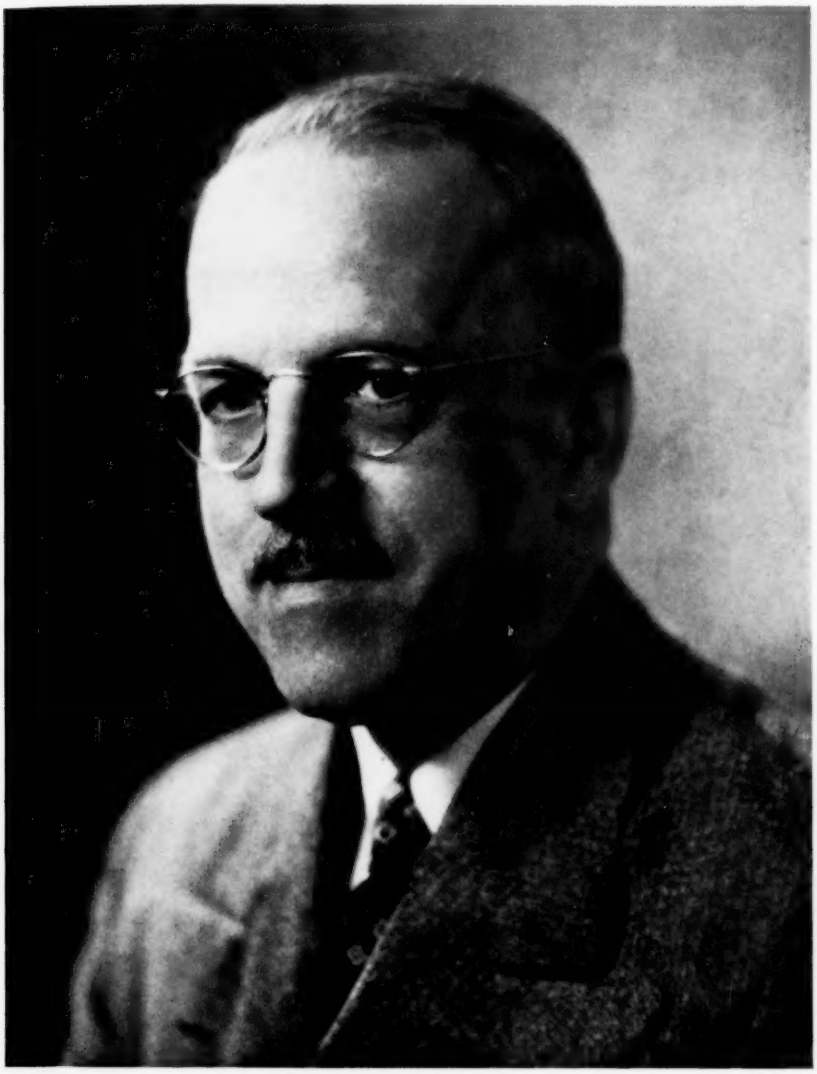
furthermore, he translated that belief into practical measures, creative ideas, and skillful leadership. Convention bureaus in every major city of the country have testified that he was a welcome figure in their offices. Through him thousands of men and women were introduced to professional social work. Under his deft touch and warm humor, many whose ideas of social work were warped or otherwise inadequate came to see it in a new light.

Howard Roscoe Knight was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on June 23, 1889. He was the son of devout and devoted parents whose memory he deeply revered. Educated at Tilton School and at the Universities of Boston and New York, he was engaged in the early years of his career as a member of the staff of the Department of Recreation at the Russell Sage Foundation, as a YMCA secretary and as director of a neighborhood association in Long Island and as acting manager of the Insular Division of the American Red Cross.

In 1921 Mr. Knight was called to Columbus, Ohio, as a staff member of the Ohio Institute (now the Ohio Welfare Council) and as Secretary to the State Conference of Social Work. He served with distinction in both posts, setting a high standard for state-wide service in social legislation and related matters in the former capacity and establishing new patterns for state conference operation in the latter. The National Conference of Social Work made Howard Knight its General Secretary on April 26, 1926. He was elected to the high post of Secretary-General of the International Conference of Social Work late August, 1946.

Mr. Knight married Pauline Helms on February 18, 1917. Three children were born to them: Jean Marion (Mrs. Charles Isackes), Howard Helms, and Philip Allerton. The second World War brought to the closely knit family a crushing blow in the death of both sons, who were members of the armed forces. Only those close to Mr. and Mrs. Knight know of the suffering they endured and with what heroic spirit they carried on. No personal sorrow or disappointment deterred Howard Knight from his appointed tasks, no heaviness of heart embittered him, no call for assistance left him unmoved or unresponsive even in the darkest hours of his own grief.

There was more than a spark of genius in this man. There was drive and purpose. He had a mission and he carried it out with such rare good humor and boundless energy, with such integrity and consumate skill that he commanded respect and compelled a willing



HOWARD R. KNIGHT

and enthusiastic coöperation. His mission was not only to spread the gospel of social work in the public relations sense, but to create within social work itself the kind of spiritual unity that would make its impact on our society greater and deeper.

There ran in his veins the blood of a stalwart Yankee father, the Reverend Frederic H. Knight, minister, teacher, social worker and for fifteen years the superintendent of the New England Home for Little Wanderers. At the May meeting of the Program Committee, the last Howard attended, he spoke out on one aspect of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Conference on which he had strong convictions, born of his heritage. He called to our attention the propriety and the necessity, as he saw it, of devoting an entire evening session to the contribution of religious faith and freedom to the basic philosophy of social work.

Howard Knight was more than a genius and more than a man with a mission. He was a human being with all that implies in the best and highest sense. He possessed lovable frailties along with great strength. It has been said of him that he would have winced at the many words of appreciation and affection so freely spoken and written about him since his death. Probably no comment could come wider of the mark. He would have loved such words and he would have accepted them with unashamed and boyish delight. He never failed in his lifetime to give credit where credit was due, and when kudos came his way he enjoyed them without hypocrisy.

Howard Knight loved wholesome fun as all too few men love it, and an evening or luncheon with his friends had the effect of a tonic in lifting his spirits. He had a veritable host of friends ranging from young to old, including the residents of his beloved New Hampshire, men and women in high places, rank-and-file social workers, janitors and clerks, and every college student and junior social worker fortunate enough to know him. Invariably, members of the younger crowd were calling him "Howard" at the end of the third day of a Conference. He was enormously proud of his own family and his grandchildren and he would tell you about them at the drop of a hat or even on less provocation!

No testimonial to Howard and his work would be complete without mention of the farm in New Hampshire, which he and Mrs. Knight loved so well and toward which they looked with longing eyes as each summer approached. There was never enough time in

Howard's busy existence for full enjoyment of that haven, but it was a godsend to him. In the darkest days of their grief, he and Mrs. Knight found surcease there, close to the soil and the trees and from which they drew strength and courage. Howard Knight's background, one of devotion and commitment, his own life and deeds dedicated as they were to the benefit of humankind and his deep love for the land and growing things are all one; they make a whole, a pattern, a design for living and they give added substance and purpose to social work itself.

Howard went to Europe last summer in behalf of the International Conference. He labored there long and hard to overcome well-nigh insurmountable obstacles standing in the way of adequate representation from Europe and England. Others from this country who were there and saw him in action have testified concerning his persistence and patience, his vision and leadership, and his determination that somehow the lines of communication between the social workers of the world be kept open.

He returned to his office in Columbus, Ohio, on Monday, October 6, and shortly before noon he called me by telephone in Cleveland. It was the same cheerful and buoyant voice that came over the wire. Yes, he and Mrs. Knight had a wonderful trip. He had much to tell me. We planned an appointment for the immediate future and said goodbye. In the early afternoon he was seized with a heart attack and was removed at once to the hospital. It was there that he died as he slept in the early hours of Tuesday morning, October 7.

Here is a good life lived to the hilt with warmth and good will and with conviction about the things that count. We cannot afford the luxury of self-pity nor even of asking ourselves what the Conference will be without him. We know only that he built well and that we must continue to build for this day and the future. If there are those of us who seek his monument, we have only to look about us.

LEONARD W. MAYO
President, 1948

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IN MEMORY OF HOWARD R. KNIGHT

GENERAL SECRETARY, 1926–1947

A GOODLY HERITAGE

By Cheney C. Jones

HOWARD KNIGHT was passing through a railroad station in Chicago when he was stopped by a stranger and asked, "Could it be that you are the son of Frederic Knight?" For twenty-five years I have worked in an office formerly occupied by Dr. Frederic Harrison Knight. I have kept hanging there a large portrait of this man who was my predecessor. When the National Conference *Bulletin* appeared recently with a full-page picture of Howard, I was startled at the likeness to the picture of his father at which I have looked daily for all these years. "Like father, like son," we say. This likeness was not only in physical appearance. In fact, Howard's father was taller and larger than his son. Much of the likeness and quality were within, and shone out through two countenances similar in structure, expression, and charm.

When we think of a man in connection with his work we think of his preparation for his undertakings and accomplishments. As we review the performance upon his stage of action, we look into his origins for experiences which might have foretold the quality and effectiveness of his life. Thornton Wilder in his *Ides of March* makes Julius Caesar erase his youth. Howard Knight had no need to do this. His youth was properly a matter of pride with him. He could say with the psalmist, "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places: yea, I have a goodly heritage." He was the son of State of Maine Yankees, of parents who nurtured a sincere religious faith and who were industrious and thrifty. Proud of the virility of their native state, they ran true to type. They had the New Englander's love of the open country, and the summer place on Lake Winnepesaukee was always a haven. The virtues of the Puritan were the order of the day. The practice of the disciples of John Wesley was also in order. The expression of plain living and high thinking was more than a *cliché* in the household. Orderliness, dignity, with a warm friendliness and a social-civic interest characterized the parents of our friend who so effectively displayed the same qualities through these many years.

His mother, highly endowed intellectually, was a college graduate who wrote for church papers and for semireligious periodicals for children. I understand that she acted as dean of women at a school for Negroes in New Orleans, of which Howard's father was for six years the president. His mother was never too well, and for many years received from her husband special care and thoughtfulness. For twenty years following the father's death Howard followed his father's example in caring for his mother, and he was a devoted son in every fine sense of the word.

Howard's father was born in Saco, Maine, October 22, 1859. He was a brilliant graduate of Dartmouth College, in the class of 1882. From Boston University he received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, in 1885, and of Doctor of Philosophy, in 1898. He entered the ministry and held a number of pastorates in New England. He was for six years the successful president of New Orleans University. I believe that this educational institution, though called a college or university, was then practically a grade and high school for Negro youth. For a time Howard and his brother were the only white boys in the school. I know directly from Howard's family that during those school years in New Orleans the parents and sons suffered a social ostracism that was painful for American boys to take. We may well understand that Howard's boyhood experience in this school played its part in his manhood. Later Howard was sent to Tilton School, at Tilton, New Hampshire, where he prepared for Boston University, his Alma Mater.

In Howard's class in the New Orleans school there was a Negro boy whose mother was a laundress. She had the idea that when the boy graduated from the school she could stop working and her son would work and look after her. The son was ambitious to become a physician, and Howard's parents were able to persuade the mother to let him go on with his education, no doubt with assistance which they were able to mobilize. That boy, I am told, is today a prominent Negro physician in New York City. His wife, at one time a member of the choir at Riverside Church, also sang at one of the General Sessions of a National Conference Regional Meeting in New York City.

Following his work in the South Dr. Knight again held pastorates in New England, and in 1907 became superintendent of the New England Home for Little Wanderers, which position he held until his

death in October, 1922. During these fifteen years he reorganized and revitalized the program of the Home and attained a national reputation in the child welfare field for his progressive ideas and undertakings.

There is, of course, a great deal more which could be told, but this gives a background for some interpretation of the motivations of Howard's life. What was it he undertook to do, and what was his family heritage that enabled him to perform so well? Let us look at the tasks which Howard assumed among us. I will mention only four of them.

First of all, there was the need to emphasize in the field of social work the importance of social discovery and the education of the professional worker and of the layman. Since his father and mother were educators and writers they planted this motivation in their son, and early and late Howard labored to improve the educational value of this great Conference, both in its sessions and in its publications. Dr. Frank Bruno's book, *Trends in Social Work,* as reflected in the *Proceedings* of the National Conference throughout the years, will emphasize this contribution by our late Secretary.

Secondly, it fell to Howard to undertake to make over the Conference which, though its history was good and progressive, still needed to move into a more modern, a broader, and a more effective pattern. A motivation for this must have been planted in him when he saw his father take the New England Home for Little Wanderers, an old child-caring agency with an honorable record, but out of step with the demands and intelligence of a new day, and build for it a new program which he announced in 1914, a program which in the light of the years that followed not only was up to date, but held out a vision not yet fully realized.

A third undertaking concerned a matter of tolerance. All of us in social work, all in education, and all of us as citizens needed to have emphasized over and over a broader tolerance for each other among the races and among the various groups into which we are divided. Here again Howard's early years served him well. He saw his parents leave their comfortable and beloved New England to give their efforts to helping educate the youth of a disadvantaged race. His own experience in the Negro school burned into him a motivation which he never forgot. Early and late he strove to improve the situation, not only for Negroes, but for all minority groups. His parents had

built into their lad the stuff we needed in the leader of this Conference.

The fourth task had to do with the heart of social work—the well-being of individuals as persons. I am sure all of us feel that the man who was to lead the affairs of this Conference, which after all is a conference on the needs of human beings, should be motivated with a deep understanding of, and an active sympathy for, the individual with problems. Along with everything else Howard's father undertook in his years of social work, he always concentrated his interest and solicitude on the individual child. He set up a system of social service, with various assistants, for the study of individual children, but he continued to see each child himself and to follow along with him day by day. He was never happier than in his direct contact with the children committed to his care. Mrs. Knight tells me that Howard inherited in fullest measure this solicitude for children. She says that he never went on a train but he was apt to hold a crying baby or a fretful child to ease a tired mother, and that he had a way with small children. They invariably went to him as though they recognized him as a kindred spirit.

I had an opportunity to see this motivation and understanding at work. It so happened that I inherited from his father, as a ward, a small boy. He was alone and, as Howard's father and I would say, "bereft." The agency kept him in a foster family and saw the lad through high school. Albert was determined to go to college even though some folks said that he was not "college material." Because of some connection or other he located himself in Ohio and matriculated at the State University in Columbus. I wrote Howard that the boy was alone, without money, and that he would need fathering. I did not know whether Howard in his more than busy life could interest himself in this lone boy, but by return mail I received a typical letter, saying that he would be glad to be of any help to Albert, asking me to write the boy at once and tell him that as soon as he arrived in Columbus Howard would be glad to see him in his home. He gave his address and telephone. He remarked incidentally that he had a daughter who was a junior at the university and that he would "tip her off" to see if she could be of any help to the boy. He went on to say that the lad would be welcome to come to his house whenever he felt like it and get a good meal, or just to sit and talk with the folks.

This youth struggled his way through the university for four years. In time the Knight house was like home to him. Voluminous correspondence among Howard, myself, and the boy accumulated in our files. Howard helped Albert to find jobs. He got friends to help with money. He gave encouragement and advice at all times. He kept me advised of the boy's progress, when he was overworked, about his attitude, when he was discouraged, when he needed money, even telling me that I might give special encouragement by sending $13.50 for dues in Scabbard and Blade, Albert's election to which seemed to give as much of a thrill to Howard as to the boy. Early and late he did things for the boy and urged me to do likewise. A line in a typical letter was, "He also needs some friendship, and we in the Knight family will do the best we can to provide that." When the commencement exercises were imminent, this busy Secretary of our Conference found time to wire me the day, suggesting a congratulatory telegram, expressing the intention of himself and his wife to attend the exercises *in loco parentis,* and saying, "We can well be proud of this boy." He told me later, that he could not have been more proud if the boy were his own son. The lad, who had undergone military training in the university, marched from the commencement platform to entrain for a military camp. His career in the Army may be judged by the fact that he came home a major. Since his return to civilian life Albert has achieved his Master's degree and is at work in the juvenile courts of one of our large cities. For what the grim hand of war did to Howard's dream of a splendid future for his two promising sons, Albert's coming home must have been a comfort.

At the time of his mother's death Howard wrote me of her continuing interest in the New England Home and in this boy, and remarked, "Someday someone with a flair for writing and an insight into human nature could well tell the story of this lad through the years as a growing example of how understanding and intelligent social work pays. I am right proud of this boy." Indeed, a careful review of this boy's career would teach more sound casework than many a text. How fortunate was this orphan boy to have had as a social worker during these difficult years the Executive Secretary of this great Conference, and how fortunate to have found in him a caseworker *par excellence.*

There were other boys along the way. No one knows how many folks in this troubled world would say about Howard what Albert

wrote me recently: "Mr. Knight's passing surprised and hurt us deeply. He was a wonderful man, who dedicated his life perhaps too fully to helping others. I feel honored that I could have been one of those individuals." We, the members of this Conference, have been fortunate to have a leader thus qualified.

So we see what boyhood years in a good family did toward preparing a man for great undertakings. If Howard had deep convictions about education he must have learned them from parents with the same convictions. His father knew that there was a better way, and he made over that which needed to be made over, and Howard was prepared to undertake a similar task. If he needed to teach broad tolerance, both by example and word, he could not have had a better training than the experience his parents gave him in New Orleans. To have suffered himself somewhat in the situation only added to the force of his convictions. If he displayed the capacity to lead this great Conference, with a concept of social service not yet fully developed which is founded on the value of a human being as an individual, part of his preparation must have been due to seeing his father and mother exemplify that principle in their life and work. Howard Knight was large in his own right, but his inherent powers fortunately found fertile soil in his own family and home. He worked to make the good fortune of a good family and home more nearly possible for every boy and girl. He was more action-minded than many social work philosophers. He may well have read the line spoken by Henry Thoreau, another action-minded Yankee, when he posed the question, "How long shall we sit in our porticoes practicing idle and musty virtues, which any work would make impertinent?" Howard was never one to sit in his portico or to become the cloistered thinker. He thought on the job, and his conclusions had a foundation in work. He could well have said with the same Thoreau, "If one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours."

HOWARD R. KNIGHT AND THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

By Robert P. Lane

HOWARD KNIGHT became General Secretary of the National Conference of Social Work in April, 1926. The Conference then had 3,000 members; today it has more than 7,000. The Conference budget then was $28,000 a year; now it is more than $66,000. Then only 2,200 people attended the annual sessions; in Atlantic City by the end of the week we expect to have 7,000. Then the Conference had 125 separate meetings, with 250 people on the program; now we have 350 meetings, with 600 speakers taking part. Then only forty-odd organizations had booths at the Conference; seventy-eight organizations have booths here this week. Howard Knight not only saw and directed the Conference through this period of phenomenal growth, he saw and directed it through the last years of unwholesome prosperity in the 1920s, through the worst depression the country has known, through the feverish industrial expansion just before our entry into the second World War, through that brutal and destructive war itself, and into the less destructive but hardly less brutal cold war in which we are engaged today.

During Howard's years as Secretary, presidents of the Conference came and went. Executive committees, program committees, editorial committees, division chairmen and their associates—all had the pleasant experience of ephemeral illumination in the Conference sun. But who that knew the Conference during this double decade had any doubt that the head and heart and hand that inspired and guided its steady growth and widening influence were the head and heart and hand of Howard Knight? And who that knew Howard can doubt that his undisputed guidance was exercised with becoming modesty, with deference to others, without self-assertion, but with greater and cumulative effectiveness because it was so considerate and quiet?

Under Howard's deft touch the Conference experienced changes more significant than sheer physical growth. It became more democratic—alike in choosing its leaders and in formulating its annual

program. It became more business-like—in spreading the costs of the Annual Meeting, in reducing the number of Conference positions one person could hold at one time, in choosing its meeting place, in organizing its own sessions and the sessions of its associate groups. It became more discriminating in its publications; not only do the present volumes of the *Proceedings* contain less highly perishable material than they used to contain, they are inviting to the eye and are actually readable.

But the National Conference was more to Howard Knight than a large and complex organization which he strove to administer democratically, efficiently, and with both taste and a cutting edge. He saw the National Conference as a great forum for the free and unhampered expression of opinions on the gravest issues that vex mankind today. It was to him a potent force for sanity in a largely insane world. He insisted that it remain a forum; he helped to keep it free and unhampered; he helped to keep it potent and to keep it sane; and thereby he helped mightily to keep it great.

There are two ways in which people can organize themselves to take greatly needed action. They can surrender to authority; or they can act after free inquiry and under agreement reached by consensus—under the compulsion of that which is reasonable. Howard preferred the compulsion of that which is reasonable; he believed it to be the genius of American life. Positive law has its place in human affairs. So has free choice—in affairs of community as of individual concern. But Howard agreed with the late Lord Moulton that there is a third domain of human affairs in which neither positive law nor free choice holds sway or should hold sway. In this third domain, though no law fixes our course of action, we still do not feel free to choose as we would. This is the domain of obedience to the unenforceable, where men comply with unwritten laws, obedience to which cannot be forced; they enforce the law upon themselves. The habits of mind and heart that equip us to live in that domain are of slow growth. The more firmly rooted these habits are, the more people who possess them, the larger the domain of obedience to the unenforceable; and the larger this domain, Howard believed, the greater the community in which such people live.

For more than twenty-one years Howard did all in his power to help the National Conference extend the domain of obedience to the

unenforceable. He deeply believed that if men deal frankly and openly with their fellows, if issues are decided after free discussion and under agreement reached by consensus, all men will be wiser and all issues more wisely handled. Like the Athenians of whom Pericles spoke, he believed that the great impediment to action is not discussion, but the want of that knowledge that is gained by discussion preparatory to action.

As we look around us in the world of yesterday and today, we must be struck by impressive testimony to the soundness of that belief. For thirty-five years, in one populous country after another, we have seen discussion halted, debate stifled, and action exalted—action that has been precipitate, headlong, unrestrained, mad. Had the rulers of those countries permitted and encouraged free debate, there might have been less heat, but there would have been more light. And I am confident that, like Howard before us, all supporters of the National Conference of Social Work are partisans of light. We have in our blood stream the sure and certain conviction that the National Conference, in steadfastly remaining a forum for free discussion, as Howard wished it to be, is contributing powerfully to those political and social values that we hold most dear.

The National Conference had enjoyed more than a half century of distinction when Howard became General Secretary. Each year its programs were studded with the names of men and women who were laying the foundations of a new and noble profession and were helping to shape their country's future. When Howard took over the seals of office, he was probably not required to take an oath of allegiance. But he knew he was succeeding to, and becoming responsible for, a great tradition. Whether formally or not, I am quite sure that in spirit he took an oath more than three thousand years old—the oath taken by young men in Athens when they reached maturity. Who can forget its dignified and dedicated phrases? This is the way Howard must have said it to himself:

> I will never bring reproach to the National Conference of Social Work, nor will I desert the comrade at whose side I stand, but I will defend our principles and our faith singlehanded or supported by many. The Conference I will not leave a diminished heritage, but greater and better than when I assumed office. I will obey whoever is in authority and submit to the established laws and all others which the members shall harmoniously

enact. If anyone tries to overthrow the Constitution of the Conference or disobey it, I will not permit him, but will come to its defense singlehanded or with the support of all. I will honor the profession of my predecessors and my fellow workers.

Everyone who knew Howard Knight is deeply aware that he served the National Conference of Social Work faithfully and well in the spirit of that ancient, honorable oath. This meeting bears convincing witness that he did not leave the Conference a diminished heritage, but greater and better than when he assumed office. In our own work for the Conference, may the success of Howard Knight be our challenge and our spur.

HOWARD R. KNIGHT AND THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

By Dorothy C. Kahn

IT IS MY PRIVILEGE to say a few words about Howard Knight's contribution to social work as a whole—national and international. If one were to attempt an assessment of this contribution in all its ramifications, it would be necessary to catalogue a list that he himself would regard as fulsome praise. Instead, it seems appropriate to select a single and a signal contribution which I believe was important to him, a contribution which social work must come to value more highly as we move more effectively from national to international organization.

Every member of the National and the International Conference who knew and respected and loved Howard Knight must feel his spirit in these halls, from the moment he enters to register up to the last General Session. It pervaded the documents and instructions and careful plans that preceded these conferences, even though those documents bore new names.

This must be particularly true of those who watched and helped him in his effort to extend the methods and benefits of the Conference procedure from the national to the international level, who saw him operating in the same quiet, efficient, and facilitating manner in Paris in 1928, in Frankfort in 1932, and in London in 1938—especially in London where the long shadows of fascism and impending war began to darken and for ten years to black out the atmosphere in which, as social workers, we had become accustomed to convene. It is Howard Knight's contribution to this convening function which, it seems to me, constitutes his abiding and most valuable contribution.

Paul Kellogg, writing of him in the November *Midmonthly,* put his finger on these last creative strokes for social work made in breaking ground for the conferences here taking place. He said:

> G.S. stands for those twenty-one years throughout which Howard R. Knight gave his level best as *General Secretary* of our National Conference of Social Work. Transposed, S.G. signifies his postwar designation as *Secrétaire Général* in rehabilitating the *Conférences Internationales du Service*

Social. Together they register a span of extraordinary service rendered by an American to his times and to a rapidly developing profession here and abroad. . .

Those initials meant more to Howard Knight than academic degrees or any later honors. They were surely a practical variant at the Special Delegate Meeting in mid-September of the International Conference of Social Work, held at Scheveningen, the famous seaside resort hard by The Hague.

Witness H. R. H. Princess Juliana [since Queen], honorary president and a conference attendant. Also, His Excellency Dr. J. M. Beel, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, who headed an Honorary Committee. This last included three members of the cabinet (Foreign Affairs, Justice, and Social Affairs); His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, Sir Neville Bland, as dean of the diplomatic corps; the provincial governor of South Holland, the Burgomaster of The Hague and others. More, there was a National Committee which ran the gamut of social activities, public and private, civil and religious, under the chairmanship of Baron Dr. A. J. A. A. van Heemstra, who was an impressive participant throughout. . .

There are present here among us many other distinguished participants in these preparatory meetings and many more representatives of governments and of voluntary agencies in many lands, here because of Howard's labors and here to raise the sights and the understanding of all of us to new levels through the procedure of conference and discussion and developing friendships.

The significance of this contribution to the convening function is too much taken for granted in the social work field. To be sure, it is not peculiar to us, but we have made some special contributions to it. Howard himself was the last person to be self-conscious or even philosophical about it. But his imaginative and unremitting efforts to improve the structure and procedure of the National Conference and his successful effort to reconstitute the International Conference are the best testimony to his devotion and concern and to his faith in this as a method for international coöperation.

From the opening moment of the 1948 International Conference with all its preliminary difficulties of facilitating attendance in the face of world problems, progressive advance in understanding of these problems, of their different manifestations, varying methods of work, and common objectives, has been marked.

Every international delegate who knew Howard has emphasized this point in expressing his deep regret that he could not have lived to see this realization of his efforts. For those skeptics who tend to believe that this development is an aspect of growing and inevitable

international coöperation, I would like to stake a claim for him and for the profession of social work as he represented it, for a special contribution both in substance and method, but especially in method.

I submit as a single example that nowhere in the world today, no, not even in the United Nations itself, could there have been provided so natural a host or such appropriate auspices for the profound and ringing challenge sounded by Dr. J. M. Kumarappa. It was to the development of such auspices that Howard Knight gave his life.

He knew that these conferences provided instruments for the expression of a central motivation. He knew also that the methods they employ are fundamentally related to that central motivation and he worked to keep that relationship clear and free from diversion to any other purpose. He knew that what we achieve in terms of broader regard for human benefits, we achieve only by growth in human understanding and common will.

As I think about this factor in the improvement of the method of conference, I am reminded of a young friend of fourteen who, visiting the gardens of George Washington's home at Mount Vernon, with its labyrinth of boxwood hedge, after an absence of eight years, thought the hedge had been cut down, because, as she told her grandmother, "when I was here before I couldn't see over it." We can see over many hedges that divided us in '28, in '32, in '38—yes, even yesterday—not because they have been cut down (in some instances they have grown perceptibly), but because we are growing in stature. It is appropriate in thinking of Howard Knight to consider what more we can do to promote that growth.

If there is to be a proper memorial to him I would like to suggest that it be related to this point—an undertaking of conscious study of the most detailed methods and procedures that we employ and to include the subtlest aspects of the social work conference function. In this way can we best carry on from where he left off.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

BASIC ISSUES IN SOCIAL WORK

By Leonard W. Mayo

THIS SEVENTY-FIFTH YEAR has been a crucial one in the life of the National Conference of Social Work. Winston Churchill might well say that never in our history has so much been dependent on so few. Because of the many unusual and unique events that have characterized the year I shall depart from custom and devote a few words to a discussion of Conference family affairs.

Last fall we were confronted with a serious financial problem brought about through the unfortunate combination of sharply rising Conference costs and curtailed attendance during the war years. The executive and program committees met this crisis and furnished, not only immediate relief, but long-range provisions that will help substantially to insure the future of the Conference. The major problems posed by drastic changes in the original plans for the International Conference of Social Work were solved, thanks to the committee appointed to assist in that program and to the leaders here and abroad who were determined that these meetings should go forward. In building the program for this Seventy-fifth Anniversary Conference, the Program Committee made a special effort to stretch its imagination and to lift its sights in order to bring within our purview the most significant and timely aspects of social work in these crucial times.

Through all of this we have labored since October 7, 1947, under the handicap suffered in the loss of our great and good friend, Howard Knight. We have felt Howard's loss keenly and deeply, both from a personal and a professional point of view, and none of you more than I. His legacy to us, however, in the form of a staff imbued with spirit and purpose, an organization that includes the essential intangibles as well as adequate machinery and procedures, and his concept of social work bringing its influence to bear upon society through the medium of a National Conference, is as great as it is enduring.

This is an appropriate time to express our appreciation to the Conference staff members who have carried on with such ability and devotion, both during Howard Knight's tenure and since his death. In

the midst of numerous and trying problems, Jane Chandler and her associates have neither wavered nor deviated from their clear course and have never shown to the slightest degree anything remotely resembling despair or discouragement. We would be recreant indeed if we did not record on this occasion their contribution to the National Conference and to social work and assure them of our genuine gratitude and continued support.

The participation and assistance of the executive and program committees during this difficult year have been of the highest order. Under normal conditions these committees occupy a large and important place in Conference affairs. This year, however, they have been indispensable and omnipotent in holding up the hands of the President and in serving as guides, mentors, and chore boys, wherever and whenever needed.

The hundred or more Conference members in nearly thirty cities of the country who accepted responsibility for the emergency drive for funds, and the scores who have assisted in obtaining new members for the Conference through the area committees, are also leading candidates for distinguished service citations. I hereby nominate them for such honors!

Those of you who responded so promptly and generously last fall to our request for individual contributions are high on the list of Conference members and friends who stepped into the breach determined to continue the Conference at a high level. You have demonstrated your confidence and support and you have my heartfelt thanks and those of the officers and committees of the Conference.

The Executive Committee has recommended a study of the future of the National Conference with particular reference to its relations, actual and potential, to certain other national organizations and to the state conferences of social work. This recommendation has come about largely as a result of suggestions from the Conference membership. A seventy-fifth anniversary, moreover, is an appropriate time for objective consideration as to how we may best build for the future on the foundations of the past. The experience of the year has revealed a deep interest and a remarkable faith in the Conference on the part of the membership. There is no doubt in my mind as to the need for, or the vitality of, this unique forum of national scope and significance. As changes in our function, program, and structure are considered, this interest and concern and this amazing vitality are

important factors to be kept in mind. In my opinion, furthermore, we must weigh carefully the many values of a national meeting once a year that brings together such a wide representation of social work for exchange of views and a unique expression of our basic geographical and functional unity.

The present members of the Conference and those who will follow us are deeply indebted to Frank Bruno, a past president of the Conference and an active member during a long and distinguished career, for setting down in such clear and scholarly fashion [1] the history of the Conference since its founding. The fact that he has so effectively related the development of the Conference to events of national and world-wide importance adds materially to the significance of the document he has authored. Mr. Bruno reminds us that the Conference has not always been in the vanguard, even in those matters about which it has known the most. We have sometimes lagged until other groups, or the impact of rapidly moving events, have tugged at our sleeves and compelled us to say, too late, what the country should have heard from us much earlier.

We can learn a great deal at this stage in our history, for there is something unique about a seventy-fifth anniversary. Three quarters of a century is a sufficient period for the birth and growth and, in some instances, the fruition or failure of ideas, movements, and organizations. Kingdoms, as it were, may rise and fall within that span of time. We will do well, therefore, with seventy-five years looking down upon us, to review with a critical eye past accomplishments and failures. What issues were selected years ago as those of greatest concern to the Conference? Were they, in the light of current and subsequent events, the basic issues of that day? Do we, today, select for major consideration the issues that are basic? Can we sift the wheat from the chaff, the fundamental from the trivia, the essential from the important?

It may help to scan some of the Conference topics of yesteryear if we wish to throw light on these questions. Looking back a long way, we find these topics, among others: the structure, administration, and operation of state boards of charities and corrections; custodial care of the insane and feeble minded; the organization of local charity societies; problems of immigration, migration, and transiency; the relation between theory and practice; institutions versus foster homes;

[1] Frank J. Bruno, *Trends in Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

public versus private auspices; professional workers versus volunteers. Prominent here are matters of organization, structure, operation, administration, and conflicts which perhaps have more to do with form than with substance.

A few years later, somewhat different topics occur: the abolition of poverty; moral and economic factors in human needs; the economic condition of the wage earner; the conservation of the home; programs for youth. Still later we find methods of casework; social group work; community organization and social action; recruiting and professional education; the relation between the professional and volunteer worker; social security programs; our responsibility to minority groups; public housing; public health; and a variety of international topics. The key words and ideas prominent in the last two groups of topics differ somewhat from those in the first; that is, factors in human freedom and security, standards of living, methods, programs, and services are dominant as well as personnel, professional education, and international concerns.

Without any thoroughgoing study to determine whether in the past attention was focused more on such issues rather than on those of less significance, it appears, nevertheless, that our major concerns have apparently progressed in a fairly orderly fashion over the years, from mere identification of social ills to basic causes and solutions thereof; from an analysis of behavior to some understanding of it; from techniques as such to method as related to our philosophy; from an emphasis on agencies and auspices to concern for more adequate coverage and a higher quality of service; from interest in movements to the building of services and programs; from concern for the individual as a more or less isolated being to the dynamics of group and community life and to society as a whole.

It has been said that a profession that does not start with the individual, does not start, and that a profession that stops with the individual, stops. The record of the National Conference and the history of social work confirm the validity of that statement.

Looking back, we can see, by and large, what was basic in the things that appeared to concern the Conference most, and what was not. Is this something that can be judged only in retrospect? Or are there criteria that can be applied today in helping us to discriminate between the basic and that which is merely important? I believe there are such criteria. If put in question form they might be expressed

in this fashion: Are the matters that motivate and concern us most related clearly and primarily to the philosophy of social work and to its purposes and obligations, or to method, structure, organization, and professional security? Do the things that concern us the most relate directly to the problems that profoundly affect society in this hour, or are we largely concerned with matters of lesser import?

Granted the many pitfalls, not to mention opportunities for rationalization, that surround the application of such general criteria, they have, nevertheless, a certain validity for us and for the people we serve. I do not imply that method, structure, organization, and professional security are not vital. On the contrary. These matters, however, must always be viewed, debated, and decided in the light of philosophy and purpose. It is the old, old problem of ends and means. If these criteria are sound, what are some of the basic issues now current in social work on the occasion of our seventy-fifth anniversary as a Conference? I venture these five suggestions, phrased in the form of questions:

1. Can we clarify for ourselves, and put in simple words for the public, our major purposes and philosophy?

2. Can we develop as an inclusive profession with full appreciation of our expanding responsibilities and obligations both at home and abroad?

3. Are we willing to submit the results of our work to competent research?

4. Have we the wit and the will to control and shape our methods, our services, our programs and agencies, both governmental and voluntary, in accordance with the broad purposes upon which we agree and the findings of research?

5. Can we command and organize public interest and support to the end that qualified personnel may be recruited in far greater numbers and the programs of professional education extended and strengthened?

I shall discuss only the first two of these issues with the hope that in the process some light will be thrown on the others. First, then, can we clarify for ourselves, and put in simple words for the public, our purposes and philosophy?

This is a recurring obligation. It has been done many times, but it needs to be done again and again. It is essential to our own understanding and basic unity and it is a "must" of the first order for the

public upon whose support we depend for the development of social work services and programs. The purposes of social work as a whole cannot be expressed in terms of the objectives and methods of any one aspect of it. There must be included our relation to society as a whole and our total and long-range as well as our partial and immediate goals and objectives. The aims and concerns that tend to make us one rather than the relatively unimportant differences that tend to separate us must prevail in any expression of our purpose. We need to stress the concept of a total profession and activity embracing a variety of approaches to human beings and human need, as well as the range of methods, agencies, and auspices that now characterize social work.

This is a task which should engage all of us—rank-and-file workers, administrators, board members, and public officials. I neither expect nor recommend that social work should evolve blueprints or precise definitions. That is both undesirable and unlikely. I simply urge that all of us in our own communities seek to put into words the essence of social work philosophy as we understand it and its basic purposes as we attempt to express them in practice. If we can do this, the concepts on which we agree will gradually emerge, and those which stimulate wide differences of opinion may be noted for careful study and discussion. Hopefully, the National Conference will be selected as one of the suitable and logical platforms for the necessary analysis and debate that should follow.

Prominent in any expression of our philosophy and purpose must be a simple declaration of our articles of faith set forth in language of unmistakable clarity: our concern for people; our respect for the dignity, integrity, and rights of individuals; our abhorrence of injustice as one of the greatest foes of freedom; our responsibility to speak and act with respect to the causes as well as the results of social maladjustment; and our major concern, not only for prevention, restoration, and rehabilitation, but for helping to create relationships, homes, neighborhoods, and nations in which human beings may live out their lives and develop their full potentialities as free people. Let all this be positive rather than negative in approach, add the scientific bases of our sources of knowledge and methods, and we shall in due course develop a statement of philosophy around which we can rally, that scientists can respect, and the public can understand.

Secondly, can we develop as an inclusive profession with full ap-

preciation of our expanding responsibilities and obligations, both at home and abroad?

This issue is more important today perhaps than at any time in our history because we are pressed on many sides to extend our services, develop new ones, and even to change the present emphasis of social work to meet mass needs in wider areas and to become social engineers engaged in large-scale preventive operations. We are required to examine such challenges in the light of domestic and world events and come to grips with them. Recent articles in the *Compass* pose the problem sharply.[2] Should we develop "the socially conscious generalist who is professionally concerned with the whole person, of any age, with the whole family, and their interaction with the whole community," as one social worker so aptly puts it? Shall we, as another suggests, "concentrate less exclusively upon those in need, less upon insurance—and work relief—and more upon broad scale preventive and better still, constructive social measures"?

These questions come with striking force in the light of the widespread need for social services of all kinds among all economic groups and communities in our own country and the overwhelming needs, both specific and general, among the peoples of other lands. I believe that social work should and will develop the capacity to lay hold of large-scale problems in society with greater skill and a more inclusive mobilization of our own and the community's resources than we have yet demonstrated. Some highly important considerations must be faced, however, as we prepare for these new responsibilities.

The study and practice of social casework led us logically and surely, if not at once unanimously, to the development of social group work. The study and practice of both casework and social group work brought us in due course to a new consideration of the neighborhood and the larger community, and finally to a concept of the community organization method. The pursuit of these methods, and the enriched philosophy and wider vision they engendered, sharpened our awareness for the need of a concerted attack on basic problems not effectively reached by any one existing method, and we renewed our interest in what we have chosen to call social action.

I do not imply that casework "discovered" social group work, nor

[2] See Donald S. Howard, "New Horizons for Social Work," *Compass,* XXVIII (November, 1947), 9–13; also Hertha Kraus, "The Future of Social Work," *Compass,* XXIX (January, 1948), 3–9.

that together they gave birth to community organization, nor would I describe the genesis of social action as something which emerged full blown from either. The fact is that the National Conference of Social Work was discussing social action, and in those terms, thirty-eight years ago. But as each method developed, it was inevitable that the others would follow a similar course and finally be drawn into the orbit of recognized social work. And this transpired in spite of some indifference and not a little resistance on the part of those who mistook their own corner of social work for the whole, and who did not realize that a profession that stops with one approach to the individual, stops.

If the progression here outlined is an accurate analysis of what has actually taken place, then further developments in the next few years are clearly indicated. We can move forward to the engineering tasks of local community and world-wide concern to which our attention has been called, provided, of course, that we want and are willing to work for such a development.

In so doing, however, we dare not relax for one instant our intensive efforts with individuals, groups, and local communities. We are not choosing between an emphasis on individuals, on the one hand, and large-scale preventive measures on the other; nor whether we shall concentrate on the so-called "generalist" to the exclusion of the specialist. We must do and have both. The question is whether social work can go forward into these new areas as a total and inclusive activity without sacrificing what it is already doing in the particular; and whether we can acquire the imagination, vitality, and manpower to extend and develop our services still further to encompass this "TVA" concept of large-scale operations for which we see the clear need.

This is an appropriate place to point out that we have frequently misused the words "breadth" and "depth" in describing various aspects of social work. We are wont to designate casework, for example, as having depth and community organization in terms of breadth. As a matter of fact, all social work methods, if properly and skillfully used, have both dimensions. Individual therapy and measures designed to affect large groups of people cannot be differentiated properly by the use of these contrasting terms.

When it comes to making a lasting impact on society, our strength lies in our first-hand knowledge of human beings and human relations. Any new direction or focus that would concentrate on broad recon-

struction of communities, to the exclusion of our work with individuals and groups, would result in the drying up of our springs of fundamental knowledge and inspiration and the loss of a quality in social work that makes it unique.

Such competence as we have acquired in helping to solve social problems affecting large groups of people stems from the experience and understanding we have gained as disciplined practitioners and administrators working closely with individuals and groups in a variety of settings and circumstances. It has been this experience and this first-hand knowledge that have made us effective in bearing witness to the evils of poor housing, the inadequacy of public health provisions, the multiple but related causes of delinquency, and the need for extensive security measures and additional resources and facilities in our field. What we need at this time is not so much a major shift in the direction of social work as an acceleration in its total growth; not so much a change of focus as a broadening of scope; not the relinquishing of present goals and methods, but their fulfillment.

We must not forget that a solid contribution to the solution of large-scale community and world problems is being made by the lowliest caseworker, social group worker, community organizer, and board member in public and private agencies, wherever they may be. The careful and painstaking service they render to individuals, families, and neighborhoods is basic. It counts tremendously both in individual cases and in the aggregate. It is not enough, to be sure, but it is essential and it will be even more so as we engage in broad-scale social engineering.

Our only hope, furthermore, in making substantial headway as social generalists, as strategists, and as social engineers addressing ourselves to measures designed to affect large masses of people and in raising the standard of living, is in close company with, if not exclusively through, other professions, civic organizations, and local, state, and Federal Government. We have never been effective in social action or social engineering on any large issue except as we have worked closely with and through groups other than our own.

I referred earlier to the "TVA" concept in social work, implying that it might be characterized by large-scale operations or a social engineering approach to neighborhoods and larger communities. An excellent illustration of such an approach and operation is found in

the county projects administered and financed, in part, by the Kellogg Foundation of Battle Creek, Michigan. These experiments have inevitably included a comprehensive view and an integrated approach. Here, local, state, and Federal Government, private enterprise, education, public health, medicine, agriculture, and industry join hands with social work in an all-out constructive and positive program for the whole country. This is something to watch and study. It has meaning both for this country and for other countries.

Just as social work must develop as an inclusive profession in the functional sense, so its services, both public and private, must be extended inclusively in the geographical and population sense. All our services must eventually reach many portions of this and other lands where their benefits have not yet been felt. And we must eventually reach all groups of people who require service, not merely one segment or one economic group. The welfare of all the people is the business of all the people, and therein lies our greatest strength and our greatest potential contribution to society.

The other issues I have named, the need for more research, the need to shape our methods and our agencies in the light of our stated purposes and the findings of research, and the urgent need for personnel and extended and improved facilities for professional education, are all old problems. They will be met and solved, in whole or in part only as we give them personal, professional, and Conference priority; and only as we regard them as basic and view them in the light of the purpose and philosophy as well as the development and future direction of social work. They will be solved much sooner and in a far more satisfactory manner, furthermore, if we accept as full partners in the process our board members and experienced volunteers to whom we owe a debt of gratitude on this the seventy-fifth birthday of the Conference.

Any profession that seeks earnestly to grapple with the basic issues in its own field will find that it is addressing itself at the same time to the basic issues of society. "The cause of America," wrote Thomas Paine in 1779, "is in large measure the cause of all mankind." And to this we may add in 1948 that the cause of social work is the cause of all liberty-loving people everywhere. We are obligated, as all who came before us were and as those who follow will be, to find our special mission, our unique contribution to the times in which we live and

to be true to that mandate. We are obligated as a professing and committed group to catch the mood, the dominant note, characteristic of our times and to reflect in our pronouncements and actions whatever may be required of us. What then, do these times demand?

First, the times demand a renewal of confidence and faith in ourselves as social workers and in social work as a dynamic influence in our world. We can be no greater than our faith, no stronger than our convictions, no more compelling than our vision. Nothing less than a rededication to the ancient truths that gave our profession its original impetus, and our colleagues of the early days their motivation, will suffice for us today. When we look back upon the rocky road over which the rugged founders of social work traveled in their long journey, and when we recall the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" they endured, we have no cause for discouragement, no basis for loss of hope.

Social work is indigenous to a free society. It cannot exist elsewhere. We who are staff members, administrators, and board members are the instruments or channels through which it flows to become a reality. It is dependent upon us, and we dare not falter or fail. To lose faith in the present and ultimate power of social work as a handmaiden of democracy is to lose faith in democracy itself.

Secondly, and of no less importance, the times require that we declare again, as we have before, in clear and unmistakable terms that there are no substitutes in our nation or in the world for jobs, decent housing, good health, adequate education, and equal opportunities and protection for all people under the law. We must say again and again that human need is a challenge to be met, not a sin to be punished; and that want and suffering in the smallest town in America and in countries beyond our own borders are the business of every civilized person, everywhere.

Thirdly, the times in which we live compel us to declare, regardless of what may be required to meet the exigencies of the moment, that we cannot win peace by force and that we dare not depend upon material defenses in an age that defies material defense. I do not recommend that social work enter the arena of domestic and international politics. But I do urge that in spite of the hatred and violence that still grip the world, in spite of the confusion and fear that prevail and the conflict between ideals and exigencies, that we say what we

know, namely, that man's only sure and ultimate defense against destruction lies in learning how to live—how to live with himself and how to live with his fellows.

Finally, if we would meet the challenge of our times, we must face the reality of fear. Social workers know the crippling and devastating effects of fear upon individuals, and some of us have seen its effects upon a whole people. Our friends from other nations know the chilling terror of war and the gnawing fears that have been their daily companions in recent months.

The fears we know in our country are not of this nature. They are fears of the heart and spirit, born of frustration. If the period following the first World War was characterized by disillusionment, the era following the second World War is one of frustration and desperate fear. We face almost sure destruction, we are told, for we live in the shadow of the relentless power of atomic energy, under a modern sword of Damocles hanging by a slender thread. So, in hysteria, people shrink into their shells, they become suspicious, terrified, and ready to fight another war before they have tried to learn the long, slow way of peace.

I find the fact of the atomic bomb and the threat of biological warfare and all their baleful possibilities far less terrifying than the realization that to live below our full capacity as a people, and to deny in living the truths we know, is a form of death far worse than the mere abandonment of this earthly existence. What we should fear is not death, but base mediocrity, not extinction but cowardice, not the end of life, but retreat from living.

This is what people are waiting to hear. Can we say it? Can we live it? Can we express it through the jobs we do? Our nation and other nations are eager for the sound of a clear voice, free from political or other bias, speaking without fear or favor, asking no privilege, but challenging all men everywhere to rise to new and greater spiritual heights, to lead, to sacrifice, to crusade, and to dare, for freedom.

What a fulfillment it would be for the seventy-fifth anniversary of this Conference if we would say these things—if we would express them in countless ways, if we could believe them deeply and make them a reality, wherever we work and live, in a thousand communities across the land!

THE SOCIAL COMMISSION AND THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT IN SOCIAL WELFARE

By George F. Davidson

IT IS MY PRIVILEGE to discuss one important segment of the United Nations effort, the work of the United Nations Social Commission and of the United Nations Secretariat in the social welfare field. Here indeed social workers find a twofold reason for advancing the cause of national understanding and collaboration. First of all, as thoughtful and intelligent citizens in a world whose boundaries are rapidly shrinking we must support with all our efforts any international action—political, economic or other—which promotes the well-being of mankind. Secondly, as persons active in the social welfare field, we take a special interest in those international causes and efforts which center in our own professional responsibilities for promoting the health and welfare of the peoples of our respective countries. Anything that insures to them, by national action or otherwise, a greater measure of protection for their health, a greater measure of security for their family life, commands the active interest and support of all of us who follow the profession of social welfare work.

The place of the Social Commission in the total framework of the United Nations is important, it seems to me, for only if social workers succeed in visualizing the relationship of the Social Commission to the complicated structure of the UN as a whole will we be able to see in its full perspective the machinery established for the development of international peace through social and economic understanding.

First of all, then, it should be noted that the master parliament of the UN, in so far as one has been developed, is to be found in the General Assembly, in which are represented all fifty-eight member nations. This is a broad, deliberate body concerned with all phases of international relationship, operating under the United Nations Charter drawn up in San Francisco in 1945. In most respects it is the

final reviewing body for actions taken and recommendations made by the subsidiary organs of the UN.

The most important of these subsidiary organs are the three special councils of the United Nations—the much publicized Security Council, the less well-known Trusteeship Council, and the Economic and Social Council, which is the chief center of specialized interest for social workers and social agencies.

It should be noted in passing that while the areas of social policy in which social workers are mainly interested fall largely within the framework of the Economic and Social Council's responsibility, the Trusteeship Council also has an active interest in many of these questions to the extent that it carries the main responsibility for the development or maintenance of better conditions of life—political, economic and social—in the non-self-governing territories throughout the world.

It is the Economic and Social Council, however, which is mainly concerned with the broad areas of international economic and social policy; and the establishment of this body as one of the main organs of the UN indicates the recognition, on the part of the political leaders of the world, that the causes of world unrest and international friction are attributable to economic and social no less than to political and military factors.

It is as one of the subordinate organs of the Economic and Social Council that the Social Commission finds its place in the structure of the UN. The Social Commission is, in fact, but one of nine commissions set up under the authority of the Economic and Social Council. Its mere existence as a unit in the complex machinery of international organization working for world-wide peace and security is vitally significant to all who are interested in social welfare development. The Social Commission represents, as does the social part of the title of the Economic and Social Council, the conviction of governments that social progress ranks on an equal basis with economic considerations as a factor in the maintenance of peace and harmony.

It has been a long and hard struggle to achieve international recognition of the importance of social questions. A start was made, when the League of Nations was established in the 1920s, through the creation of an Advisory Committee on Social Questions and through the foundation of the International Labor Organization. In fact, it has been said that the most lasting and worth-while contribution of

the League of Nations to the promotion of better conditions of life was made through channels such as the International Labor Organization and the Advisory Committee on Social Questions, despite the fact that these were not fully recognized as key units in the structure of the League of Nations itself.

In a sense, it may be said that once again, with the UN as with the League of Nations, history is repeating itself; for in the UN the complex problems of political security and of economic reconstruction, particularly of those areas of the world which were devastated in the second World War, have held the center of the stage, and problems falling in the social welfare field have been relegated to a place of lesser prominence. Despite this fact, it is fair to say that in the development of our international machinery for peace and security some progress has been made in achieving recognition of the importance of health and social questions in the lives of the peoples of the world.

Examples of progress are: (1) the creation of the World Health Organization and the International Refugee Organization; (2) the linking of economic and social problems within the terms of reference of the Economic and Social Council; and (3) the establishment, not merely of the Social Commission itself, but of other commissions having to do with matters falling within the broad area of social policy. These include the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, the Human Rights Commission, the Population Commission, and the Commission on the Status of Women.

When one reflects on these developments, all of which have come to pass within the last two or three years, one recognizes that we have greatly strengthened our international machinery for the development of better social conditions within the international community. I feel very strongly indeed that this recognition of the importance of social questions in the lives of nations parallels the awakened sense of social responsibility which has manifested itself in domestic policies on the part of the governments of all the democratic countries of the world.

As governments become increasingly aware that the political power which they hold in their respective countries carries with it a direct responsibility for improving the social conditions of their own peoples, so also they carry to the international council tables this sense of responsibility, this conviction of the importance of social questions

in the lives of all peoples; and this is reflected in a change in the structure of our international organizations, with emphasis increasingly laid on the development of international measures to promote social and economic well-being. The future of the world and the security and happiness of generations yet unborn may well depend upon the success of the efforts now being made to substitute constructive international diplomacy in economic and social fields for the old diplomacy which has failed us all the years that we have known it, namely, diplomacy of a purely political and military character.

We have to remember, of course, that the Social Commission did not begin to function until January of 1947. It held two sessions in 1947 and only one in 1948. It will be recognized, therefore, that the Social Commission is still in its infancy and has not yet a sufficient record of achievement to permit mature judgment of its actual value in our international society. The future will decide whether this venture in the field of international social policy will prove to be fruitful and constructive or whether the good ship "Social Commission," on which the hopes of social workers everywhere will ride, will founder on the shoals of international friction, or find itself becalmed in the backwaters of international apathy, where the barnacles of disinterest and frustration will immobilize it.

When the Social Commission met for its first organization meeting, early in 1947, it had before it two basic documents by which to chart its deliberations and its course of action: (1) the report of the temporary, or nuclear, Commission which had been established earlier to explore the field and to advise as to whether or not a permanent Social Commission was necessary; and (2) the terms of reference established by the Economic and Social Council for the permanent Social Commission. These terms of reference are as follows:

1. To advise the Council on social questions of a general character and in particular on all matters in the social field not covered by specialized intergovernmental agencies
2. To advise the Council on practical measures that may be needed in the social field
3. To advise the Council on measures needed for the co-ordination of activities in the social field
4. To advise the Council on such international agreements and conventions on any of these matters, as may be required, and on their execution
5. To report to the Council on the extent to which the recommendations of the United Nations in the field of social policy are being carried out

Using the report of the temporary Social Commission as an initial working document, the permanent Commission endeavored in its first session to establish within these terms of reference a grouping of subjects and tasks in order of importance. There was general agreement that the problems raised by the temporary Commission could be assigned to three main groupings.

First of all, there was the problem of taking over, under UN auspices, certain activities which had already been set in motion by the League of Nations. Under the League's auspices, a number of international conventions had been established dealing with such matters as the suppression of the traffic in women and children, the control of obscene publications, and so on. Likewise, certain draft conventions on such subjects as the maintenance of indigent foreigners and suppression of the exploitation of the prostitution of others had been in the course of preparation when the League came to its untimely end. It was recognized to be of the highest importance that these tasks which had been completed by the League, or at least initiated, should not be allowed to lapse for lack of a proper international channel to carry them on. In view of this, it was agreed that high on the list of priorities for immediate attention, so far as the Social Commission was concerned, must be the transfer of those responsibilities, the assumption of them, and their incorporation into the framework of the UN.

The second list of subjects considered to be of great concern related to the emergency programs arising directly out of the second World War. This list included the taking over of certain functions of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in the social welfare field in view of the imminent liquidation of the UNRRA program. Prior to the first session of the Social Commission action in this regard had already been initiated by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. The Provisional Commission of the International Refugee Organization had been established to take over UNRRA's functions in the case of displaced persons. A technical committee of experts had been named to assess the continuing relief needs of countries previously assisted by UNRRA. An appropriation of $570,000 was voted by the General Assembly for the purpose of carrying on the advisory welfare services to countries in Europe and in the Far East which UNRRA was in the process of helping to re-establish. Likewise, in view of the cessation of UNRRA's

relief activities, it was necessary to consider the establishment of some alternative organization which would at least deal with the relief needs of children and nursing mothers in the devastated countries.

To meet this contingency, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly had approved the establishment of the International Children's Emergency Fund, but it was the job of the Social Commission to give greater precision to the terms of reference under which the Fund should operate and to establish the broad areas of policy within which its program should be conducted. Problems such as these were accorded first priority because it was felt by the members of the Commission that they represented practical tasks of immediate concern. They had to be given first attention, therefore, even at the risk of postponing discussion of the broader, long-range objectives that were set forth in the Commission's terms of reference.

However, the Commission has not lost sight of the fact that the terms of reference established by the Economic and Social Council deliberately set forth long-range, comprehensive social objectives covering the whole field of social advance and progress with which the Commission is to be concerned. In seeking the pathway before its feet, the Commission has not felt that it could or should neglect the far horizons of social welfare toward which its deliberations must ultimately be directed. The general view has been rather that it was a wise decision which gave the Commission ambitious and not narrow terms of reference, and that the Commission should seek within these terms of reference an initial set of practical problems that will make it possible to set a realistic and practical course, while still keeping its eyes on the distant goals to which it is hoped the Commission may aspire.

It may be said that the main practical accomplishments of the Social Commission during the two sessions which marked the first year of its existence were four in number:

1. The Commission established a framework of policy within which the International Children's Emergency Fund might develop. This Fund now operates under an executive board of its own, consisting of representatives of twenty-six member nations. It operates an emergency feeding program for children and nursing mothers in a dozen countries of Europe, and is developing a program for China and other countries of the Far East. Supplementary feedings are being

provided for nearly four million children and nursing or expectant mothers through funds supplied by UNRRA and seventeen donor countries. The resources of the Fund total more than $50,000,000, which amount, it is anticipated, will be more than doubled by governmental contributions and by the proceeds of the world-wide United Nations Appeal for Children.

2. The Commission set in motion the machinery for taking over, under UN auspices, the international conventions in the social welfare field which had been effective under the League of Nations, and for revising and re-examining the draft conventions on which the League of Nations was working at the time of its demise.

3. The Social Commission, working through the staff of the Secretariat and a specially appointed temporary Social Welfare Committee in the interval between its first and second session, undertook distribution of some $670,000 allocated by the General Assembly for carrying on the advisory welfare services which UNRRA had initiated in Europe and the Far East, and which it could no longer continue.

This program is of a fourfold character: training fellowships in social welfare and in the manufacture of prosthetic appliances; provision of experts to serve as experts or consultants in the re-establishment or improvement of social service programs in war-torn or underdeveloped countries; social welfare seminars in selected regions; and the production of films and literature in the social welfare field. One hundred and six fellowships were granted in 1947 to students or workers from war-torn countries, enabling them to study in other lands. A score or more of consultants were provided in eight countries; and regional seminars on social welfare were held at Medellin and Montevideo to consider special problems of the Latin American countries.

Finally, at its second session, the Commission established a set of principles for the planning and coördination of its work with that of the numerous specialized agencies, such as the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization, and others which are carrying on special operational programs in health and welfare. This was an important step forward because of the necessity of avoiding confusion in the multiplicity of special international organs and agencies which are conducting some form of activity in this broad area. To its Advisory

Committee on Planning and Coördination, the Social Commission delegated the task of developing practical working relationships with these specialized agencies.

Many other questions have, of course, been under discussion by the Social Commission: penal reform; standards of living in underdeveloped areas; housing and town planning; child and family welfare; juvenile delinquency; social welfare administration; and the training of social workers. Questionnaires on these last two subjects have been forwarded to member governments. Progress in assembling basic data and in charting the proper course of action will continue to be slow because of the complex nature of the discussion and of the tasks which face the Commission. Social workers in all countries should, however, find deep satisfaction in the fact that they are daily working in their own communities, and in their own countries, in a field which is more and more being recognized as holding great possibilities for international collaboration.

There is slowly dawning the recognition that the establishment and maintenance of adequate international machinery for consultation, planning, and action in social welfare between the various nations of the world can produce results in terms of international harmony and good will which far outweigh the cost of maintaining such machinery. It is being recognized, too, that adequate international machinery in social welfare is just as important and just as likely to be productive of beneficial results in terms of world peace and security as similar machinery in the field of international economy and political relations.

Here, more than in purely political or economic or military areas, it seems to be possible to get, in some degree at least, the coöperative effort of all nations directed to a common purpose. I do not mean that all is peace and harmony when social welfare issues arise; far from it. Debates have often been strenuous and even stormy in the Social Commission. But it is a simple fact that numerous encouraging instances of coöperation do exist in the social welfare field between the various so-called "political blocs" and alignments. Two outstanding examples are to be found in the International Children's Emergency Fund and the Advisory Welfare Services program. In these undertakings there is a full measure of participation from every side; the work is carried on, unhampered by specters of dollar diplomacy or by either the Iron or the Uranium Curtain.

Viewed in these terms, the time, effort, and money that we devote to understanding and participating in the social welfare activities now being undertaken under the aegis of the United Nations as part of our international responsibility constitute an investment in the most important objectives that we can have as an internationally organized social welfare community. It is nothing less than an investment in the peace and security of the world as a whole, without which there can be neither peace nor security—social, economic or political—for any one of us alone.

THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

By William P. Forrest, DR.P.H.

ON JULY 22, 1946, sixty-one nations—probably the largest number of nations in recorded history to agree on a set of principles—signed the constitution of the World Health Organization. The organization was deliberately called the *World* Health Organization because these nations recognized that those problems which are no longer purely national must be solved by international action, and on a world-wide basis. Governments have long realized that they are not able to deal with epidemics independently, because epidemics pass national frontiers with a fine disregard for any political considerations.

During the past fifty years, a number of international health organizations were built up, none of them complete, but all serving useful purposes. The constitution of the WHO embodies the experience gained by those organizations. But it also gives evidence of much independent thinking, and it is one of the highest manifestations of that great upsurge of international conscience which produced the United Nations itself.

These are the principles which these sixty-one nations held as basic to the happiness, harmonious relations, and security of all peoples:

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. The enjoyment of the highest attainable standards of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition. The health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security and is dependent upon the fullest cooperation of individuals and States. The achievement of any State in the promotion and protection of health is of value to all. Unequal development in different countries in the promotion of health and control of disease, especially communicable disease, is a common danger. Healthy development of the child is of basic importance; the ability to live harmoniously in a changing total environment is essential to such development. The extension to all peoples of the benefits of medical, psychological and related knowledge is essential to the fullest attainment of health. Informed opinion and active coöperation on the part of the public are of the utmost

importance in the improvement of the health of the people. Governments have a responsibility for the health of their peoples which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures.

It would be difficult to imagine a broader charter, or a finer manifestation of man's better self. In their practical application, for which there is ample provision in the constitution, these principles mean that the WHO is more than an international health agency. It challenges all the old negative and defensive attitudes toward health and it is a positive creative force with broad objectives, reaching forward to embrace at least some aspects of most fields of human activity. If we are determined to help all mankind to a higher standard of living, we must remember that the important word in that phrase is "living," and the WHO is one of the most powerful international instruments ever designed to help man to attain this higher standard of living.

It is interesting to note that the World Health Assembly, which is the annual general conference of the WHO, has a power which is quite unique, "of adopting regulations concerning sanitary and quarantine requirements, nomenclature of disease and causes of death, and standards with respect to biological and pharmaceutical preparations, which shall come into force for all Member States, except those who specifically register rejection or reservations within a specified period." This is a most significant new procedure in the field of international coöperation, replacing the usual machinery under which only States which ratify a convention are bound by it—a mechanism which may involve and has, in the past, involved delays of up to ten years.

The WHO has now come into legal being, since on April 7, 1948, Mexico ratified the constitution—the twenty-sixth member nation to do so. Eight non-members of the UN have also done so. The position of the United States is this: the Resolution of Acceptance passed the Senate unanimously in the first session of the Eightieth Congress and was unanimously approved by the Foreign Relations Committee of the House, but it has not yet [1] reached the floor of the House, having been tabled by the House Rules Committee.

Delays in ratifications were foreseen when the Interim Commission was set up, since international health cannot wait on the administrative procedures of sixty governments. The Interim Commission consists of the representatives of eighteen States, under the chairmanship

[1] April, 1948.

of Dr. Andrija Stampar, of Yugoslavia. Its executive secretary is Dr. Brock Chisholm, of Canada. The Interim Commission ceased to be a preparatory commission soon after it was formed, becoming in fact, if not in name or in financing, a fully operative organization.

It has now been operating for almost two years. It has taken over the international health functions of all the pre-existing bodies, namely, the health organization of the League of Nations, the health division of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and the International Office of Public Health, and it has carried on a successful international program in a wide variety of fields.

Its first task was to provide an intelligence service for those who fight disease. In Geneva a staff of epidemiologists collect reports from all parts of the world and distribute them to health authorities and port sanitary authorities. In addition, the Singapore bureau of the WHO receives reports from twenty-four sea- and airports from the Bering Sea to New Zealand and as far west as Alexandria, Egypt. These are broadcast by eleven radio stations, a service of the greatest value to mariners.

The quarantine regulations which prevent the entry of, for example, yellow fever into the United States are drawn up and administered by the WHO. Such regulations must be adequate, but they should cause only minimum disturbance to travel and commerce. The Interim Commission has set up an expert committee on international epidemic control, composed of the best experts from all countries. Instead of tinkering with the old sanitary conventions, this group will restudy the whole problem of controlling epidemics in the light of modern scientific knowledge. The appropriate regulations can then be adopted by the Health Assembly without delay. A subcommittee of this group has proposed much-needed revisions of the clauses of the 1926 sanitary conventions dealing with the Mecca pilgrimage, the journey undertaken by each good Moslem to kiss the Black Stone at Mecca.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, five different epidemics of cholera spread from Egypt to Europe; two reached the United States. Cholera broke out in Egypt in the fall of 1947, on a large scale. What happened? Within twenty days—and remember that most of these things require at least fourteen days for manufacture—thirty-two tons of vaccine, syringes, and other supplies had reached Egypt from the WHO. Practically every country in the world, from the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to Brazil, had answered the call for vaccine

by sending their entire available stocks. For the first time in history, a full-scale epidemic of cholera was cut short in its full vigor. Credit for this remarkable feat belongs to the Health Department of Egypt and to the WHO.

Another job which the Interim Commission has been doing is the development of standards and the drawing up of a common technical language for experts in all countries. If you fall ill in Rome and you tell the Italian doctor with what drug your own doctor treats you, or you show him the prescription, will he actually administer the same drug and will it be of the same strength? An expert committee is working on an international pharmacopoeia which will provide a standard of comparison for use in all countries. Another committee is developing uniform standards for products which must be tested by biological procedures: vitamins, certain hormones, and antitoxins. A group of experts in vital statistics has just produced the sixth decennial revision of the International Lists of Diseases and Causes of Death. In this work, for the first time, a single classification has been developed for diseases and for causes of death. This is of the greatest practical importance for group health insurance plans, to labor unions, to social security administrations, and to commercial insurance companies, to mention only a few of those who rely on it in all countries.

Another important function of the WHO is assistance to governments. When UNRRA went out of existence, $1,500,000 from its residual funds was allocated to the WHO Interim Commission to carry on some of its health functions. These include (1) campaigns against diseases, such as tuberculosis and malaria, notably in Greece and China, in coöperation with these governments; and (2) the provision of fellowships and the services of visiting experts to train the health administrations of the former UNRRA countries. The WHO also maintains missions, liaison officers, and advisers or services in eleven countries. These work with the ministries of health to help bring about a rise in the standard of available health services. To this end, assistance is also given in the selection and procurement of medical books and periodicals.

Probably the greatest problem in many countries is the lack of trained personnel. It is a greater need than the need for medical supplies and it is much more difficult to satisfy. Since the establishment of the Interim Commission more than two hundred and fifty fellowships have been awarded to health specialists. About half the fellows

have been trained in the United States and Canada and about half in Western Europe, Britain, Scandinavia, etc. Most of them are trained in various branches of public health, and special emphasis is given to the training of teachers of medical subjects. Normally, the fellows are senior medical personnel who will pass on their knowledge to students or apply it in the public health administrations of their own countries. Dollar for dollar, this type of expenditure probably is the best long-term investment which can be made. Without it, the WHO projects, which are all long-term, would be incomplete.

The Interim Commission coöperates with many other international agencies and organizations. We work with the UN, where we are coöperating in studies on the causation of crime from a psychiatric point of view. The WHO Expert Committee on Habit-forming Drugs is the advisory body for the Commission on Narcotic Drugs of the Economic and Social Council. The WHO is coöperating actively with the Food and Agriculture Organization in an endeavor to raise food production in underdeveloped areas, and to increase throughout the world knowledge of modern nutritional techniques.

It is not commonly realized that the productivity of the agricultural laborer in some of the underdeveloped areas, especially in tropical countries, is appallingly low. He works for twelve or thirteen hours a day, and his output, even when one makes allowances for his primitive tools, is not much more than 15 percent of that of his brother in more fortunate countries. He is usually a perambulating pathological museum, a startling collection of bacteria, parasites, and chronic diseases. The prevalence of malaria, which incapacitates millions of people each year in tropical and subtropical agricultural areas, is perhaps the most spectacular example of this anachronistic state of affairs; but it should be remembered that schistosomiasis, hookworm infections, and the like are also major causes of such low productivity, and also of a lack of that real self-respect, that belief that man can and does control his environment, which is the foundation of all enterprise.

When the Interim Commission met for its fifth session in January of 1948, it recommended priority for four programs to be carried on by the WHO in addition to its routine services. These are control of malaria; an extensive campaign to prevent the spread of tuberculosis, which has become epidemic in many countries; the fight against venereal diseases, particularly syphilis; and aid to government services

for the protection of mothers and children. In connection with its tuberculosis work, the Interim Commission supervises the medical aspects of the vast program of the Danish Red Cross, under the auspices of the UN International Children's Emergency Fund, to immunize some fifteen million children against tuberculosis.

To enable many of these functions to be carried out by the countries concerned, it is recommended that the WHO train large numbers of health officers and other medical and para-medical personnel, to continue studies on the organization of health, and to initiate studies in a number of fields with a view to future programs. Among these are nursing, housing, tropical and marine hygiene, mental hygiene, medical social work, and a number of diseases of international significance which it is possible that progress in medical science will soon make eligible for early international action.

From all I have said, it will be apparent that there is a broad viewpoint which can be adopted by the members of the medical profession who are fully alive to the real significance of what is sometimes called "social medicine." As an adherent of this school of thought, I should like to present some viewpoints on social organization and on health service as one aspect of social work.

First let me define "social medicine." I believe that there are about one hundred different definitions of this term. I hesitate to step in where 100 better qualified men have differed, but it may be desirable to inquire why there are so many definitions. Perhaps the answer is because social medicine is a philosophy rather than a subject. It seems to me that it is a facet, and an important facet, of the belief that medicine should no longer be taught or practiced from a negative outlook. Perhaps we should now train and graduate doctors of health rather than doctors of medicine. It is doubtful whether the estimable zeal for the specialized viewpoint inculcated after several years of training by the various specialist teachers—physiologists, surgeons, and the like—can ever be counterbalanced by even a long period at the feet of the most eminent professor of social medicine. What one would like to see is a frank prohibition of students studying anything in their medical course which is divorced from its context. When the student is "walking the wards," as it is called in England, he should not be permitted to view a patient as he might view a specimen in a pathological museum. It is quite true to say, for example, in the case of a middle-aged woman with a number of children who has a heart

ailment, that the prognosis depends as much upon her social circumstances—the family income, her husband's character, etc.—as on any other factor. So, we might produce a medical practitioner, competent to practice health, who is fully aware of the social aspects of his profession. The same ideas could be used in the training of the medical auxiliaries, the dentists, the sanitary engineers, the nurses, the medical social workers.

Now, let us take the nature of the social services in a community. To examine this we might look at the picture in an international context. It will be found that in most countries those functions which are required by the community are carried on by the responsible bodies of the administration of the country concerned, to a greater or less degree, depending always on the economic, administrative, and philosophical history. Most such services were first noted as necessary and were instigated on a voluntary basis by religious and philanthropic groups. Their work often was the lever which moved the government to set up relevant statutory services. From this it would appear to be the historical function of the social worker to organize himself out of a job, in favor of the particular profession concerned. This he could do with a full sense of achievement since, often, he had, in fact, created new and usually necessary social services.

Now let us examine the relationship with the individual who is served and let us take, for example, the doctor or nurse who does this variety of social work. I believe that the relationship between the doctor or nurse and the patient is one of the closest and most intimate relationships which can exist between human beings. The existence of this relationship has been amply demonstrated in the past and, with our constantly improved outlook, may be expected to blossom still further in the future. I further submit that this might well be the basis upon which should be built the main framework of our social agencies. Let us train our district nurse along the professional lines of the public health nurse in certain parts of the United States, the nurses in Scandinavia and other countries, or of the health visitor in England, who is trained as a nurse, as a children's nurse, as a midwife, and in public health, which last gives her a good measure of social training. I have the most lively admiration for the work these people do. They are a mine of information on the agencies available to assist their charges. They are the godmothers of all the children in the district, whom they have known since the mother attended the

prenatal clinic of the maternal and child welfare center, managed by the nurse. Some of them even knew those mothers as toddlers. They are guide, philosopher and friend and the adopted aunt of their community, and they are the doctor's right hand. If we give them fewer families to look after and more duties to perform we will encompass two objects: we will greatly decrease the number of official visitors to each household in favor of one welcome visitor; and we will still further increase her usefulness and influence for good. Given some more training by, say, postgraduate grants, she could, if necessary, easily undertake the duties of the school nurse, the tuberculosis nurse, the venereal diseases nurse, and the friend of unmarried mothers, and she could easily become the most remarkable, logical, and essential agent of all, or nearly all, the departments concerned with social service.

I find it a little more difficult to understand the direction in which the social worker is going. It seems that he has achieved something of the fine relationship I have described. Indeed, this has been one of his main functions, which became necessary when the tremendous and rapid growth of our urban populations swamped the competent services. For this reason I think social work, as it has developed, has an essentially transitional character, and this is in accord with the historical picture I have drawn.

What shall it avail us if the social worker, finding a need for a school to rehabilitate those who have become, through illness or accident, unfitted for their former occupations, should start a school instead of stimulating the competent services—health, social insurance, education—to do so? Very little, for I find it hard to believe that the school would be as efficient as it would have been under the professional bodies who are really responsible, and the lazy departments would still be lazy.

I can visualize the social worker as a professional entity only in one way, namely, as a fairly high-level officer in a community who would more aptly be called a social organizer and whose function would be to stimulate the lazy departments. I believe that social workers should be trained with this concept of their duties in view.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

By Daniel S. Gerig

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION, which began its existence in 1919, suffered serious curtailment of its activities during the war. Its operations have returned to approximately prewar level only in the past year or two, and progress is now being made in development of new activities. This agency is preoccupied with measures for the welfare of people the world over. The constitution of the ILO states that social justice is a basic prerequisite of universal and lasting peace. Belief in this principle is the mainspring of the work of the ILO.

The ILO is now a specialized agency of the United Nations by virtue of an agreement concluded in 1946. Membership is open to all countries belonging to the UN and to other countries admitted by two-thirds vote. The entry of Pakistan and Syria late in 1947 raised the total number of member countries to fifty-five. A few members of the UN, including Russia, do not belong to the ILO, while various other countries, such as Ireland, Italy, and Switzerland, which do not belong to the UN, are members of the ILO.

The structure of the ILO is like that of any body which formulates policies and carries out an active program. Its center is the International Labor Conference, which is the policy-making body. Its next agency is the Governing Body, which serves as an executive council and supervises the work of the International Labor Office. A remarkable, and indeed unique, feature of the ILO is that representation at the Labor Conference and on the Governing Body is not confined to governmental delegates, but must include management and workers as well. The latter have full and independent voting status. This tripartite system permits expression of diverse viewpoints in a democratic manner and is productive of great vitality in the Organization. The International Labor Office is the permanent administrative and research secretariat of the Organization. It is headed by a director-general and has a staff of about four hundred persons drawn from all parts of the world.

International commissions and committees have also been set up to assist the Office. Some, such as the textiles and metal trades committees, deal with particular industries. Others, such as the Permanent Migration Committee, are concerned with particular social or economic fields.

In general, the ILO is concerned with achieving higher living standards for workers and their families the world over. It seeks to accomplish this end by fostering international coöperation in numerous fields of social and economic policy. This purpose has found practical expression in a growing code of international labor standards, which the Labor Conference has been developing over a period of nearly three decades.

The standards adopted by the Conference are set forth in so-called "conventions" and "recommendations." The former are special treaties which require ratification by member States to be binding. The latter are suggested guides to national action. Since 1919 eighty-six conventions have been adopted, and more than nine hundred separate ratifications of these by individual countries have been registered. In addition, eighty-two recommendations have been approved by the Conference. The subject matter of these conventions and recommendations is of broad scope. General fields include labor legislation, manpower organization, industrial welfare, industrial relations, social security, and numerous subdivisions of these complex fields. The standards developed through ILO machinery have greatly influenced social legislation in many countries.

The ILO is also responsible for supervising the application of conventions ratified by member nations. Countries that accept a convention are required to submit periodic reports regarding their compliance. These are reviewed carefully by the ILO, and cases of apparent noncompliance are taken up with the country concerned.

The relation of ILO activities for improving the lot of workers and their families to the fields of social welfare and social work is obvious. When an ample volume of adequately paid employment is available in a country, under healthy conditions of work, the general level of welfare is raised, and many causes of dependency and want disappear. The majority of the population, in most countries, is normally dependent for subsistence upon income from employment. Likewise, most persons who require social work services also must rely normally upon their own wages, or those of a husband or father, as their chief

means of support. Betterment of conditions of work and its remuneration through international action, therefore, improves the status of many recipients of welfare services.

Activities of the ILO in the income security field are perhaps the most closely related to social work. Measures which insure a minimum income to those suffering from loss of earnings enable social work efforts to be concentrated in fields of greatest need, where the yields in terms of human well-being are the largest. The furthering of social security has been a principal element of the ILO program for many years, and it has played an important role in the remarkable growth of legislation in this field since the end of the first World War.

The constitution of the ILO adopted in 1919 made reference to the desirability of protecting workers against sickness, disease, employment injury, and old age. Relatively little social insurance legislation was on the statute books at that time. What there was, existed mainly in a handful of countries in Western and Central Europe. Social assistance laws, establishing categorical schemes for distinct types of need, had begun to replace the nineteenth-century poor-relief laws in some countries; but progress was slow. It was in this setting that the ILO began its work in the income security field.

During the 1920s and 1930s the ILO was occupied principally with development of an international code of social insurance standards. A child-birth convention was adopted by the first Labor Conference which included social insurance as a means of providing maternity benefits. Workmen's compensation was dealt with next, first in 1921 for agricultural workers and then, in 1925, for employees generally. Conventions and a recommendation on sickness insurance were adopted in 1927. Six conventions were formulated in 1933 which dealt with old age, invalidity, and survivors' insurance in industry and agriculture. In the following year a convention and a recommendation were adopted for unemployment insurance; the latter also dealt with unemployment assistance. Social insurance for seamen was the subject of two conventions developed in 1936; welfare problems of seamen were dealt with at the same time. Conventions for preserving social security rights of alien and migrant workers—for whom the ILO has always felt special responsibility—were also adopted during this period.

Postwar activities of the ILO in social security were effectively reinvigorated, and also to some extent reoriented, by actions taken at

the Philadelphia Conference of the Organization in 1944. The general declaration adopted there included as a principal aim the worldwide "extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection." A comprehensive recommendation dealing with income security was adopted at the same time, as a primary step for implementing this broad aspiration. Since the recommendation reflects present ILO policy, it is useful to review its basic principles. Unlike prewar practice, it undertakes a rationalized and integrated approach to the organization of social security. Its emphasis on the desirability of unified and coherent income maintenance schemes undoubtedly stems from the nature of social security plans developed during the war in a number of countries.

The income security recommendation calls upon all member nations to develop, as rapidly as national conditions allow, income security programs for relieving want and preventing destitution. Such programs should restore to a reasonable level income lost through inability to work or to obtain remunerative work or by reason of the death of the breadwinner. It is urged that the programs should be established, so far as possible, on the basis of compulsory social insurance. Insured persons who satisfy eligibility and contribution requirements should become entitled automatically to benefits at rates and under contingencies prescribed by law. Protection is specifically recommended for the risks of sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, death, unemployment, and employment injury. The intention, however, is that compensation shall be granted for any involuntary loss of earnings, regardless of the contingency responsible. The recommendation also urges that social insurance coverage should be as broad as practical; all persons exposed to a risk, regardless of occupation, should be covered.

One section of the 1944 recommendation bears directly on social work. It is proposed that all needs not covered by social insurance be met through social assistance programs. Special allowances are urged for aged persons, widows, and invalids who are not eligible for insurance benefits and whose income does not exceed a prescribed level. These allowances should be adequate for full, long-term maintenance. Family allowances are also recommended, to aid in maintenance of large families and to supplement insurance and assistance programs. In addition, public subsidies are proposed to provide free or below-cost food for infants and school meals and low-cost housing for fami-

lies with children. Finally, allowances adjusted to need should be payable, in cash or kind, to all other persons in want who do not require institutional care. It is emphasized that the cases where the size of the allowance is discretionary should be narrowed, by improving the classification of cases of need and setting up scientific budgets of maintenance costs.

The income security plan outlined is not, of course, a panacea for all social ills. It deals mainly with the consequences of interrupted earnings, and necessarily assumes that adult workers normally can find jobs paying a living wage and that they enjoy good health. The latter matters involve other fields of social and economic policy, with at least some of which the ILO is also concerned. Nevertheless, no country can be said to have a complete program of social legislation today unless it has provided an effective scheme of income security for its citizens.

Much progress has recently been made in different parts of the world in setting up new social security programs and reforming older plans. This has been achieved despite the destructive effects of the war and the difficult problems of reconstruction. Countries at different stages of industrial development, as well as with dissimilar economic structures, have shared in this progress. It is of interest to contrast the compulsory social insurance plans of the middle twenties with the recent situation. In 1947 thirty-eight members of the ILO had accident insurance schemes as compared with sixteen in 1925. Thirty nations had sickness insurance as compared with only nine previously. Member countries with general pension schemes rose from sixteen to thirty-six; with unemployment insurance plans, from four to fourteen; and with family allowance plans, from zero to seventeen. New measures have been enacted since this tabulation was prepared, and additional legislation is now under active consideration in various countries.

Another important ILO activity related directly to social work lies in the field of health. The ILO has been concerned, from its earliest days, with measures for protecting and improving the health of workers. One means of accomplishing this was by promotion of international standards for insuring healthy and safe conditions of work. The Organization also acquired an early interest in the medical care of workers, in dealing with workmen's compensation schemes for injured workers. Later, when it began to deal with sickness in-

surance generally, it gave primary attention to cash benefits replacing lost wages. It recognized the importance of benefits in kind, in the form of medical treatment for sick workers, and the desirability of preventive measures. In general, however, the earlier work in the field of health dealt with medical care mainly as an adjunct of cash insurance benefits, and in respect of insured workers alone.

This more limited concept of health needs gradually gave way to recognition that a broader approach was required. The importance of health services for families of workers, as well as for workers themselves, was recognized. In numerous countries the maintenance of a healthy population and the preservation of health became important matters of national policy. This trend was accentuated by wartime manpower problems. In time, therefore, the provision of health services assumed an independent importance, entirely apart from their connection with income maintenance schemes. This development was recognized by the Philadelphia Conference of the ILO, which dealt with medical care and income security in two entirely separate recommendations. The medical-care recommendation reflects the importance which most member nations of the ILO now attach to an adequate system of health services as an essential element of social security.

The recommendation itself deals with alternative methods of organizing a medical-care service, depending on the state of each nation's medical services and the character of health problems in particular countries. Reference is made both to a social insurance service and a public service. It is urged that whatever service is established should provide all types of curative and preventive care that can properly be given by the medical and allied professions: hospital care, and medicines and appliances. The principle is laid down that the wholehearted support and participation of medical and allied professions must be enlisted. Beneficiaries should have the right to choose their doctor from among practitioners working for the service. Close coördination is recommended between the medical-care service and the general health services which safeguard the health of the whole community.

The International Labor Office, as the administrative agency of the Organization, makes numerous studies of social insurance, social assistance, and health security problems. These studies provide a basis for international consideration and application of standards in the

fields mentioned. The Office acts as a clearinghouse for distribution of information regarding social security activities in all parts of the world. It also provides documentation for annual, regional, and other conferences of the International Labor Organization. This includes the preparation of draft texts of conventions and recommendations considered by the Labor Conference. The Office is frequently called upon by governments to provide technical aid in framing social insurance and noncontributory pension laws and regulations, and in readaptation of older laws to changed conditions. It has also gradually expanded its interest in the practical problems of administering social security schemes, and has taken steps to facilitate direct contact and interchange of experience among social security administrators in many countries. In some cases, advisory missions are sent, upon request of members, to study problems at first hand and provide technical advice. Among countries receiving missions in the social security field in 1947 were Egypt, Greece, and Colombia. These various activities represent a very practical form of advancing international cooperation and understanding in the economic and social fields.

Provision of income security and health services in some of the countries belonging to the ILO—particularly those in Asia and the Middle East—presents especially challenging problems. The mass of the population consists of peasants who derive only a bare subsistence from cultivation of the land, and their income is almost wholly in kind. Health facilities in most communities are totally inadequate or even nonexistent. Schemes of insurance, assistance, and health developed for industrial areas must undergo extensive modification before they can be applied here. The ILO is giving increasing attention to problems of social security in nonindustrial countries and for nonindustrial peoples.

World-wide aspirations in the fields of social security and health were strikingly reaffirmed at various regional conferences in which the ILO participated in 1947. An ILO Conference of twenty Asiatic countries, meeting in New Delhi in November, 1947, considered at length the enormous task of bringing some degree of economic security to peoples of the Orient. A resolution was adopted which urges the setting up of income security systems in Asia, by means of social insurance, and also recommends the provision of public medical-care services. An ILO Conference for the Near and Middle East, held late in 1947 at Istanbul, also gave attention to social security and health

matters. Nations represented at this conference included Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey. Recommendations were adopted dealing with income security services both for urban and rural workers, and with appropriate goals of health legislation in these countries. The ILO also took part in two other conferences held late in 1947. In Rio de Janeiro a second session was held of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, which had last met in 1942. In Europe the eighth general meeting of the International Social Security Association was convened at Geneva after a lapse of eleven years. Actions taken at both conferences reflect the intense interest of participating nations, particularly in Central and South America and on the Continent of Europe, in extending and strengthening their present systems of social security.

The growth of income security and health legislation will influence the tasks of social work agencies in numerous countries. More and more persons are being covered by statutory plans that assure a minimum income when certain contingencies occur. A tendency in some countries toward integration of insurance and assistance may accelerate this. These developments will enable the skills of trained social workers to be applied with greater effectiveness in provision of community services and nonmonetary types of assistance, and also in handling more complex cases of maladjustment.

It is possible, however, that various contributory branches of social security will themselves come to require more social workers. It is true that social insurance originated as a reaction to the inadequacy of public relief and the indignity of the pauper status; and its philosophy until lately has been unfavorable to unsought visits and counsel. But that attitude arose in a society sharply divided between rich and poor, where the former condescended to the latter. Nowadays, social security services place an increasing emphasis on the prevention of social misfortune, and on the creation of a healthy, prosperous population. In a word, they are becoming ever more constructive. They cannot neglect, therefore, to take advantage of the contribution which social work can make to the attainment of their objectives. Already, some family allowance plans use social workers extensively. With integration of family allowances in social security systems, as certain countries already have done, one may see social workers used on a much greater scale.

The ILO deals with still other fields related to social work. It

promotes the welfare of children through international standards concerning age of entry into employment, medical examination of young workers, vocational training and guidance, juvenile placement, night work, and other conditions of juvenile employment. Women workers have also been the subject of agreements sponsored by the Organization, including conventions dealing with maternity protection and with employment of women in underground or night work.

The ILO has done much to encourage coöperation in industrial safety and hygiene. Attention has also been given to related problems of the medical and vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons. The organization of effective systems of labor inspection has been dealt with. Problems of labor migration, as well as of maritime employment, have always been of special concern to the ILO because of their obvious international character. The preservation and use of workers' leisure time have received attention. Still other matters on which the ILO seeks to promote international collaboration include: employment market organization, public works planning, wage policy, maintenance of employment, industrial relations, labor statistics, and general conditions of employment. Conventions have been adopted in some of these fields, and all are subjects of continuing study and international discussion.

Special reference may be made to ILO efforts to encourage international coöperation in raising standards of life and work in colonial territories. These territories contain a major fraction of the world's population, but the standards adopted by sovereign States are not always immediately applicable to native labor. Special provisions of the ILO constitution seek to insure the maximum feasible application of labor conventions to dependent territories. The ILO has devoted much attention to the economic and social development of such territories; matters dealt with have included nutrition, education, housing, public health, and conditions of employment. The whole question of migratory labor in various African territories has been made the subject of special study.

The ILO believes that world-wide progress is achieved through ratification and adherence to the standards it has developed. Those engaged in social work in different countries undoubtedly can contribute to furtherance of these actions in their own countries. Ratification procedures have been changed to take account of the so-called

"federal countries," like the United States and Canada, where some fields of social legislation are a matter of state or provincial action rather than a federal responsibility. These changes will enable the federal countries to improve their showing as to adherence to the international standards adopted.

Let me restate the basic aims of the ILO. These are, in essence, to contribute to the establishment of lasting peace by promoting social justice; to improve, through international action, labor conditions and living standards; and to promote economic and social stability.

THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

By Martha H. Biehle

THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION was established by the United Nations to work toward a solution of one of the world's greatest tragedies—the displacement of people from countries of former nationality and residence, displacement without re-establishment. Three years after the close of the war there are still more than a million and a half displaced persons and refugees scattered around the world. Though small groups are in China, the Middle East, and France, the displaced persons are chiefly in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Though as unproductive workers living in camps they obviously constitute a great obstacle to the economic recovery of Europe, we must be particularly concerned about the problems of human welfare with which they challenge us.

The story of their displacement is an old story now, many times retold. The earliest group is composed of those from the first World War, Nansen refugees, of whom many have been displaced a second time by the second World War. During the thirties, preceding the second war, hundreds of thousands of refugees fled from the persecution of the Nazis. A few thousands are still in Germany and Austria, but most of them have become re-established in some new country of residence. Since the war additional thousands have entered Germany and Austria.

The bulk of the displaced persons now in Germany and Austria were brought there as slave laborers by the Nazi regime to work in the munitions industries. They were selected from all occupied areas for their strength and skills and youth. Nearly ten million people were found in the Western zones of Germany and Austria at the close of the war. Most of these were repatriated to France, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Russia by a vast, rapid migration by train, plane, bus, and on foot.

There was left, however, a remnant of nearly two million persons who were not easily re-established. Some of these have returned to

their homes in the past two years, but most of them have been reluctant to do so, and many have refused to go home. Their chief reasons are uncertainty about the economic and political situations in their home countries. Many definitely disagree with and fear the political regimes now in control. Others, who lived in territories now annexed by other governments, are uncertain about the opportunities which would exist for them should they return. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that the world is confronted with vast numbers of homeless persons, as yet not re-established where they can become again productive members of society.

Recognizing this as a world-wide problem, for which all governments are responsible, the UN, after twelve months of discussion, approved in the General Assembly on December 15, 1946, a constitution for a new agency, the International Refugee Organization, whose sole responsibility would be the care and re-establishment of displaced persons and refugees. It was provided that the new organization would come into existence when fifteen governments, contributing 75 percent of its operational budget, would have ratified the constitution. In order that plans could be made immediately, it was also provided that an interim body, the Preparatory Commission, would come into existence as soon as eight governments had signed the constitution, whether or not they had ratified it unconditionally. The first meeting of the Preparatory Commission was held in Geneva in February, 1947, but governments did not ratify the constitution very rapidly, and it became clear during the spring that it would be necessary for the Preparatory Commission to assume the operating functions of the IRO on July 1, 1947, at which date both intergovernmental agencies then existing for the care of displaced persons, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, would cease operations.

On July 1, 1947, therefore, the Preparatory Commission took over the care and maintenance, repatriation and resettlement, and legal protection of all displaced persons and refugees falling under its jurisdiction according to the definitions of eligibility included in the constitution. This means that during the nine months ending in April of 1948, without full membership and with only an uncertain and partial income, the Preparatory Commission of the IRO has provided care and maintenance (food, shelter, clothing, health and welfare services) in camps for a continuing population of more than six hun-

dred thousand persons, and has actively carried out a program of repatriation and resettlement and of legal protection. So far, only fourteen governments, namely, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, the Dominican Republic, France, Guatemala, Iceland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States, have ratified the constitution. This gives the Preparatory Commission of the IRO 76.74 percent of its operational budget, but until a fifteenth member ratifies the constitution, the PCIRO cannot count on obligatory contributions and must carry its tremendous responsibilities on voluntary contributions from member governments.

The 633,000 displaced persons for whom PCIRO provides include 162,000 Poles (excluding Jews); 143,000 from the Baltic countries; 93,000 Ukrainians; 76,000 from other countries, such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Rumania; and 157,000 Jews of various nationalities. Germany is the location of most of the DP's, having 531,000 of the 633,000 as well as many others not under PCIRO care. They are divided among the three Western zones —315,000 in the American zone, 188,000 in the British zone, and 28,000 in the French zone. In Austria 41,000 are under PCIRO care, with large numbers outside PCIRO camps. Similarly, the PCIRO in Italy cares for only 29,000, while a large number of DP's maintain themselves.

So long as the displaced persons remain in camps the problem remains unsolved. These are men and women and children, fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, grandparents, aunts and uncles, families like our own. They have been cut off from their homelands and from useful employment. They cannot remain indefinitely in the insecurity, uncertainty, and unproductivity of assembly centers, or tolerated precariously in countries where the population does not welcome them. They represent a rich resource of productive manpower, potentially good citizens. To enable this potentiality to be realized we must somehow find a way to re-establish them as permanent members of communities.

Therefore, the PCIRO regards the provision of care and maintenance as only an emergency measure to keep people alive in temporary, unsatisfactory arrangements until permanent, satisfactory provision can be made for them. The PCIRO stresses the movement of people either to their old homes or to new homes. To this end

agreements have been made with several countries—Canada, Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, Peru, Australia, France, Belgium, the Netherlands—for immigration, and a small but steady stream of displaced persons is moving to all these countries, as well as to the United Kingdom and to the United States under the separate arrangements made by those two governments. Since the PCIRO started operations on July 1, 1947, more than one hundred and twenty-five thousand displaced persons have been resettled in new countries by the PCIRO and by private voluntary agencies. In addition, 67,000 have been repatriated.

There are mechanical problems to be solved in the migration of these people. Shipping is scarce. The funds necessary for this highly expensive operation are not readily available. More opportunities for resettlement must be found. The delay in ratification of the constitution is a serious handicap which impedes the progress of the Organization. But these problems are in process of solution and can be solved.

The issues which are most difficult and on which the PCIRO needs the assistance of all people of good will, all workers trained in social welfare, are those which concern the present and future of these displaced persons as human beings and as citizens. Many social workers have undoubtedly dealt with refugee immigrants. More will in the future. This is, therefore, a responsibility which social work shares with the PCIRO. No intergovernmental agency can possibly provide adequately the direct, personal touch which is so essential to the well-being of the people it wishes to resettle. Private and national social welfare agencies must carry a large portion of this work. We are restricted by governments as to the service we can render. Social workers of the reception countries can assist their governments in providing adequately for the people admitted as immigrants.

Let us examine some of the characteristics of these potential new citizens. Although at best the PCIRO can hope to feed them at the rate of only 2,000 calories per day, the displaced persons under PCIRO care are an unusually healthy group of people. The death rate in the camps is phenomenally low, and the birth rate is exceptionally high. Because there are many professionally trained doctors and nurses among the DP's, the ratio of medical staff to population is the highest in the world. More than fifteen hundred doctors and two thousand nurses among the DP's help dispense medical services in

the camps under the supervision of forty doctors and fifty nurses on the IRO staff. Through an intensive program of inoculation, smallpox, typhus, and cholera have been completely eliminated. Typhoid and paratyphoid fever have been practically dispelled even though they are often endemic in the German population.

Estimates of religious affiliations indicate that from 50 to 55 percent of the DP's are Catholics, 27 percent are Jews, and from 15 to 20 percent are Protestants.

The occupational skills of the DP's are varied. A recent survey of the DP's under PCIRO care indicates that approximately one third are skilled workers in sixty occupations; one fourth are agricultural workers; and one tenth are professional workers. Many useful skills are represented. Among 90,000 males classified in the American zone are 4,890 tailors, 4,269 shoemakers and saddlers, 3,317 locksmiths, 3,472 carpenters and woodworkers, and 3,261 auto mechanics and electricians. Among the professional group are teachers, engineers, musicians, clergymen, lawyers, physicians, agronomists, chemists, etc.

The displaced persons are a young group, 85 percent of them being under forty-five years of age. About 24 percent are boys and girls under eighteen. Of special significance is the fact that most of them are in family units. Among the displaced persons in camps and assembly centers under PCIRO, there are 150,000 family units. It is essential, therefore, that plans be made for the DP's as families, so that the tragedy of the war years which scattered families and destroyed so many personal ties will not be repeated. In the camps this means provision for child care and education, for medical care to bring into good health those who might otherwise be unacceptable to reception countries, for recreational and religious facilities to sustain the morale of the various age groups. Most important of all it means that every effort must be made to provide for their migration as family units. This is not a minor matter, for many immigration countries tend to believe that in a period of housing shortages it is preferable to take only the young workers for specific jobs, single men and women preferably, asking married men to leave their families behind until they can be sent for after the man is established. It is hoped that as the resettlement program develops, governments of reception countries will increasingly act on the PCIRO contention that DP's should emigrate as family units, including elderly members and nonemployable members as well as the most youthful

and productive. This is not merely a humanitarian plea; it is sound economically, for family units provide the stability which creates good citizens and good workers.

The number of unaccompanied children has been reduced to about six thousand due to success in locating parents and relatives since the end of the war. The PCIRO continues to maintain a program of child search and tracing with the hope that other children may be reunited with their parents or relatives. The child search program, which has been reduced in activity, is part of the International Tracing Service by which PCIRO coöperates with the tracing services of various nations and with private agencies. The tracing service serves adults as well as children and, with other agencies, has been successful in reuniting families and in establishing the location or death of many thousands of missing persons.

For children, the PCIRO maintains special programs of feeding, education, and health services. It is greatly aided in this, as in all its work, by the voluntary agencies, several of which have established children's homes or provided staff to work with PCIRO in the camps.

This detailed description leads to our major problem, that of insuring the adequate resettlement of displaced persons in the countries to which they emigrate. Agreements which PCIRO makes with individual sovereign governments must leave to the governments the privilege of selection of the DP's who are to be admitted for permanent resettlement. The PCIRO can merely assist in preparing the DP's for selection and in transporting them to new countries, and it can give legal protection where needed after arrival. The country of reception must make all arrangements for assimilation. Arrival in a new country does not guarantee early and adequate establishment. In all the resettlement agreements made by PCIRO the country of reception undertakes to find employment for the incoming DP. There are a great number of other services which he will need, however, before he is established—a place to live, cash to carry him until wages are received, adequate clothing, medical attention, schools for the children, language classes for the adults—help in all the aspects of becoming part of a new and strange community. Provision is made, at least in part, for some of these services by the government of the reception country, but social welfare agencies, both private and governmental, can greatly increase their assistance to the PCIRO if they will find ways to care for DP's on their arrival.

During PCIRO's fiscal year of July 1, 1947, to June 30, 1948, only 12 percent of the total budget of $117,000,000 can be used for resettlement expenses because the costs of care and maintenance require 80 percent of the budget. With the growing emphasis upon moving persons for final re-establishment, thereby decreasing camp populations, it is estimated that expenditures for resettlement may be increased to 36 percent of the budget for the next fiscal year. If this trend continues, and if governments take a "fair share" of the displaced persons as immigrants, the IRO, which was established as a temporary organization, may be able to complete its work within two or three years. If it is to accomplish this, the IRO must have the increased support of governments and the continued support of the many loyal, generous, and tireless voluntary agencies that have so effectively brought their special skills to work for the displaced persons. It is the great hope of the PCIRO that the re-establishment of the displaced persons and refugees may thus be brought to an early and satisfactory conclusion.

MEETING POSTWAR NEEDS IN WESTERN EUROPE

By René Sand, M.D.

IN DISCUSSING THE SOCIAL AND HEALTH NEEDS of Western Europe and the attempts to cope with them, I shall limit myself to France, Holland, and Belgium, leaving aside the political problems—although political strife and lack of stability loom large in our difficulties—and the regional problems, such as the contrasts between the Flemish, that is, the Dutch-speaking Belgians, and the French-speaking Walloons.

So far as the population is concerned, I shall only mention that, to the general surprise, the birth rate went up before the end of the war, after a sharp fall, and has remained so high that in Belgium and France the fertility index is, for the first time in many years, above one; France regained in twenty-four months half its total war losses. Holland always had a high birth rate, and with New Zealand it enjoyed the lowest death rate in the world. After a temporary rise in the mortality rate, due to the hardships of occupation, Holland is fast coming back to this privileged position, the result of a vigorous educational, sanitary, and social policy unflinchingly pursued for seventy-five years by private initiative as well as by the central and local authorities with the support of an enlightened public opinion.

Before the war the French and the Belgians were, on the whole, thrifty, hard-working people; but working-class families had such limited budgets that 60 percent or more of their resources had to be used for the purchase of food. One family out of three was badly fed, badly housed, badly clothed, badly cared for when ill. The situation was similar in other parts of Europe. Only Great Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries fared better.

Since the beginning of the war a constant effort has been made by the French, Dutch, and Belgian governments to regulate wages, prices, and rents, as well as the production, importation, and distribution of goods, with the aim of giving everyone decent living conditions. For the first time, the public powers made it their duty to

apportion the national resources and the supply of commodities so as to insure a degree of well-being to all. Moreover, the edifice of social security, whose foundations were laid many years ago, has been completed so as to cover the risks of accident, maternity, disease, invalidity, old age, widowhood, orphanhood, and unemployment. This applies, however, only to the wage-earning and salaried class, omitting the farmer, the shopkeeper, the independent "small man" in general. On the other hand, family allowances, which in their present form originated in France during the first World War, cover the whole population. Undoubtedly, these efforts have brought results: poverty, in the sense of complete or almost complete lack of resources, has become exceptional; when it occurs, it is promptly, if not always adequately, relieved by public and private agencies. During the occupation this granting of a minimum amount of resources, and the apportionment of food, coal, and clothing according to need, had remarkable effects: in spite of a food shortage, which in Belgium cut calories and proteins by 50 percent and fats by 80 percent, the death rate in general and the tuberculosis death rate in particular rose much less than they had during the first World War (14 percent instead of 42 percent for the general death rate; 44 percent instead of 106 percent for the tuberculosis death rate).

Another effect of war and postwar conditions may be characterized as the revenge of the village on the city. City dwellers used to have the pick of everything. Farmers sold the meat, the butter, and the eggs that they produced, contenting themselves with brown bread, potatoes, and margarine. Since 1940 the situation has been reversed: the villagers help themselves first, and what remains goes to the city. This explains, in part, the apparent scarcity of many kinds of food: since a greater proportion is being consumed by the country people, the city markets look comparatively depleted, although for the population as a whole the total consumption may be higher than before the war. It is not only in the matter of food that the farmer now plays first fiddle. He has a roof over his head, while in the city the scarcity of lodgings is appalling. He has plenty of wood to burn when the city dweller gets little coal. He has real values in his fields, his crops, his cattle, his horses, his hens, when the city dweller's savings have been devaluated. May I hint also that since he keeps no regular accounts, the farmer pays little income tax even when he has made

millions, whereas the manual worker, the clerk, and the public servant are unable to hide any part of their income from the tax collector.

Virgil said almost twenty centuries ago that the agriculturists would be too happy if they only recognized their happiness. They still do not recognize it openly, they are too prudent for that, but city people seem to recognize it for them: one is always more aware of another's happiness than of his own. Let us, however, take in account the fact that the work of the farmer, the farmer's wife, and the farmer's hired hands is hard, continuous, exacting, that the countryside offers few opportunities for recreation, and that the crops remain constantly at the mercy of the weather. To be sure, the owner of a big farm leads quite another life from that of the small tenant, and rich soil and a good climate make all the difference between prosperity and penury. Finally, the advantages which the agriculturist enjoys at the present time may be temporary.

In the cities, the skilled worker, so long as he retains his strength, can manage comparatively well, in so far as housing and food conditions allow but those who live on old age pensions, on sickness or widows' allowances, and, generally speaking, those who live on a fixed income, like clerks and civil servants, can hardly make both ends meet, especially after money has been devaluated or has lost its buying power. To this situation, however, a certain degree of relief is brought by the coöperative societies, which sell at cost prices and have a growing number of members.

Real advances have been made in labor conditions; not only are factories becoming safer and healthier, but they engage doctors, nurses, psychologists, and social workers to select, to place, and to follow up their employees. In Belgium and Holland this service is not compulsory. In France, every employer has the legal obligation to maintain it, either independently or in association with other employers. The social service, jointly financed by employer and employees, is placed under the authority of the shop council, where the elected delegates of the labor and clerical forces meet the representatives of the management. The employer has to consult this council in connection with every measure that has to do with the interests of his employees. In Belgium a law will soon be issued ordering the employer to put before this council, four times a year, certified accounts of production, sales, receipts, and expenditures, thus enabling the

staff to see for themselves whether salaries and wages keep abreast of investments and profits. By a common agreement between Belgian employers and employees, reached during the occupation, the medical and social services will be placed under the general direction of the shop council; the reason is that if on the one side these services are paid for by the concern, on the other they deal with the very person of the worker; he therefore feels entitled to have his say about their organization and their methods. This is only one example of the revolution which has given the worker authority and recognized his dignity, both inside and outside the workshop. Even the clients of social agencies, public or private, claim the right to determine what kind of service they want. Contributing financially as taxpayers, as subscribers to social insurance, and often also as members of voluntary organizations, they are no longer the recipients of charity but rather the beneficiaries of their own exertions.

In the sphere of health, progress was constant between the two world wars: France and Belgium reduced their standardized death rate by one percent every year. This constant progress resulted from the rise in the standard of life and in the conditions of work, from the health and domestic education spread by thousands of public health nurses, and from specific measures in the areas of mother and child welfare and the prevention and control of tuberculosis and venereal disease. In Holland, two voluntary organizations, the Green Cross, which is nonsectarian, and the Yellow and White Cross, which is Roman Catholic, maintain public health nurses, prenatal clinics, baby welfare clinics, and tuberculosis dispensaries. They receive grants from the State, whose public health services are remarkable. The big cities also have an excellent health organization. Sanitation is so complete that a water distribution system is available to more than 90 percent of the inhabitants. In Belgium, mother and child welfare centers, tuberculosis dispensaries and sanatoria, venereal disease clinics, and mental health clinics are left to private initiative, and subsidized by the State. Since the war France has made a notable effort: a National Health Institute has been created, the public health services have been reinforced, new legislation has been enacted, a national hospital plan is under way. In all three countries, however, conflicts are raging between the organized medical profession and the social security agencies. The fee-for-service system, on which the doctors have insisted, makes for quantity rather than for quality. The freedom to

choose any practitioner and to change to another doctor whenever one feels inclined to do so leaves medical care scattered. Doctors charge fees higher than the amount for which the patient is reimbursed by the insurance fund, so that for the sake of economy medical care is not sought before disease symptoms are advanced. Group medicine has not yet gained recognition. Still there is some progress: it is now generally admitted that hospitals are to accept rich and poor alike, and that they are to play an increasing part as diagnostic and treatment centers.

In Holland, foodstuffs are strictly measured but equally distributed; the diet is sufficient although somewhat monotonous. In Belgium, food is abundant, and our only complaint is the poor quality of milk, the farmers having not yet accustomed themselves to the necessary precautions for its cleanliness and conservation. In France, food conditions vary considerably from region to region, and diets are still deficient in the big cities.

The worst situation, however, concerns housing. In Holland, fifty years of strenuous effort had very nearly solved the problem. When the country was invaded there remained few slums or overpopulated dwellings; remarkable town-planning schemes had made every city a model of beauty, hygiene, and convenience. Special houses had been devised where so-called "asocial families" were gradually trained to orderliness and cleanliness. With the war came such destruction that now one family out of four has no lodgings of its own. Still, the courageous Dutch have wrested again from the floods the whole of Zealand and the lands reclaimed from the Zuyder Zee. In Belgium and in France, where housing conditions had not been satisfactory, the war wrought destruction and stopped construction. In all three countries, since 1939, rents had been maintained by law at an abnormally low level, for in the absence of this precaution wages would have had to be raised, prices would then have soared, and inflation would have run its vicious circle. But these low rents hardly allowed the landlords to make necessary repairs, so that property was deteriorating. The law has recently authorized increases in rent. However, building is so costly that private construction is paralyzed, and construction financed by the public powers would yield rents amounting only to a small fraction of the interest on the capital spent. Unless building costs are greatly reduced by mass construction and standardization of materials, the housing problem will remain unsolved.

Yet a great deal is being done for the benefit of the family, which is now regarded as the social and economic unit. Family allowances keep down the cost of raising children, and in France the mother receives a supplementary allowance if she abstains from work. Loans are granted by the State to young couples, each child born constituting repayment of one quarter of the loan. In addition, grants are given before the birth, at the time of birth, and after the birth if the mother visits regularly the prenatal clinic and, later, the baby welfare center and if the baby is breast-fed. The sum given for the first child is substantial, and it is considerably increased if the baby is still living at the age of six months. Various other advantages are given to large families. Family associations have been started everywhere, gathering in people belonging to the same social and professional group, and they are federated throughout the country. The French law gives these associations authority and power.

Education, physical education, and recreation have also undergone important advances. Teaching is more and more conceived in accordance with the "new education." Programs and schools are recast in order to give everyone his best chance to develop along the lines of his own personality. Physical education, bodily exercises, sports, life in the open, youth organizations, youth hostels, and youth camps are more and more in favor. Annual paid holidays are guaranteed by law to every manual and intellectual worker; arrangements are made with hotels and railways to keep prices at a reasonable level. However, recreational and educational facilities are still lacking in the villages and small towns.

In the prevention and treatment of juvenile and adult delinquency great advances have been made. Looking at social policy as a whole, we may say that it has rounded out its program so as to cover physiological needs, that is, the respect of the body; intellectual needs, the respect of the mind; and psychological needs, the respect of the person.

To combat the five evils which Lord Beveridge enumerates as want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and unemployment, an economic policy and a social policy have been devised. The economic policy aims at maximum production of needed goods with minimum expense and effort, and equitable (not equal) distribution. The social policy aims at avoiding the necessity that the status of anyone should fall even temporarily below the minimum conditions necessary to normal life—this is a negative object—and at giving everyone optimum con-

ditions—this is the positive object—as a right for the individual and as an asset for the community.

The methods used are those which Sidney and Beatrice Webb delineated forty years ago. The first wall of defense against social evils is constituted by prevention: safety measures as prevention against accidents; health measures as prevention against disease; education, vocational education, and household education against ignorance and lack of skill in trade and domestic life; a policy of full employment.

However reinforced, this first wall cannot stop those accidents and diseases which are unpreventable; it cannot retard indefinitely old age and death. Therefore, a second wall is necessary: social security, which steps in with money allowances and medical care as soon as misfortune strikes. Thus most of those who formerly had to be relieved by public or private charity are now preserved from want and distress through the contributions they have paid in advance to a common fund.

Even this second wall is not a complete protection: the social security system may be incomplete, or the allowances too meager, or other measures may be needed, such as legal advice, family readjustment, psychological care, character building, rehabilitation, or personal help of many kinds. For these services stands the third and last wall: public and private welfare, using casework as well as social group work methods, employing social workers, nurses, nutritionists, home economists, home helpers, doctors, psychiatrists and psychologists, vocational guidance counselors, educators, group leaders, technicians and specialists in many spheres.

Social work in France, Holland, and Belgium shows the same characteristics as elsewhere: it tends to become more scientific and more preventive; mass action is corrected and supplemented by individualized treatment; the psychological approach gains the upper hand over material relief; rehabilitation is sought for the physically or mentally diseased or disabled, for the vocationally or morally unadjusted or maladjusted. Institutions change from the barracks to the family cottage type. The factory, the school, the hospital, the court; the penitentiary, become centers for health and social work.

However, we have little community organization, and coördination is still incomplete. But the training schools for social work, the national associations of social workers, and the national committees are leading toward better integration. In France, the Red Cross and

the *Entr' aide Française,* a State-supported fund, have played a very important part: the *Entr' aide* gave half a billion free meals during the war, to mention only one of its many activities, and it continues to fill the gaps left by other organizations. In Holland, during the German occupation, Catholic and Protestant charities were the only organizations able to pursue their work, which they developed considerably. They have been instrumental in the creation of the Netherlands Council of Social Work, which is at the same time a coördinating agency, and the National Committee of the International Conference of Social Work.

In France and in Belgium the title of "social worker" is reserved by law to persons holding the State diploma, granted after three years of theoretical and practical study. Their numbers are far from adequate to the need.

France, a big and diverse nation, is predominantly agricultural in spite of its industries and its huge metropolises. Family ties and family life remain supreme, and a tradition of Christian charity keeps alive in many agencies, side by side with the ever growing public welfare organizations whose beginnings are found in the sixteenth century as regards relief, in the seventeenth as regards family allowances, and in the eighteenth as regards social insurance and the welfare of mother and child. France, sorely tried by two consecutive wars which disrupted its political, economic, social, and moral balance, is recovering through the most persistent effort. Social progress and social work are making remarkable strides in spite of recurring economic difficulties; rural and colonial social work are developing rapidly. In the cities and in the industrial regions, the social security funds maintain social services. So do the Army, the Air Force, the Navy, and the Civil Administration. The youth movements are remarkably active; they recruit and train thousands of leaders. France has become completely social-minded.

The charitable institutions and methods of the Netherlands were admired in the seventeenth century, and the Dutch can boast of a steady advance in private agencies and public services alike, giving everyone the very best education, health, housing, recreation. Reduced by war and occupation from abundance to scarcity, they have resumed with fresh vigor their constructive policy, holding to their traditional values while they enlarge and perfect constantly their social activities.

Belgium was less devastated than its neighbors, its empire less menaced. However, to satisfy public opinion the government aimed first at restoring abundance in food, clothing, and fuel. This goal being attained, the next step is to re-equip industry, sanitary services, hospitals, schools, especially vocational schools, and social institutions in general.

Certainly there are still many gaps and many faults in our legislation, our public services, our private agencies. Nevertheless, the advance is staggering both materially and psychologically. Of course, everybody grumbles. Everybody has always grumbled. We need more and better education, more and better health work, more and better social work, a higher standard of life. But we see the way, we know the method, we are marching in the right direction. If governments, nations, political parties, are wise enough to free themselves from selfish ambition, from fear and prejudice, so as to let the world heal its wounds and regain its balance, then social work will march unhampered to ever new and bolder conquests in the respect and development of the human person, in the enrichment of life, in the shaping of man's destiny.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF INDIA

By Jagadisan Mohandas Kumarappa

TO UNDERSTAND the social needs of India, it is necessary to appreciate why and how they have arisen. Therefore, I shall sketch briefly the background essential to a correct understanding of modern India and her problems.

The population of India exceeds three hundred and thirty millions. It is almost equal to the population of all the nations of Europe except Russia or that of the New World and Africa put together.

Social work, as we understand it today, has been recently introduced into India. Before the arrival of the British, people in need were taken care of in the communities to which they belonged. The "joint family" assumed responsibility for the disadvantaged members. Widows, orphans, and the unemployed were taken care of by the joint family, which functioned very much like a social insurance scheme in miniature.

With the advent of the British we began to experience the impact of the Industrial Revolution. Industries accelerated the pace of urban development. Further, in the field of education, disastrous alterations were made in order to maintain a regular supply of Indians acquainted with the English language to fill minor positions in the administrative departments. Thus the impact of industrialism, the rise of cities, and the introduction of Western education set in motion forces that led to the disintegration of the Indian way of life.

With the increase in foreign exploitation, poverty, and suffering, it became necessary for people to make coöperative efforts to help one another. Modern voluntary social services had their origin in such efforts.

In spite of the rise of cities, India still remains rural. While there are only about fifty cities with a population of over one hundred thousand, there are more than five hundred thousand villages. Eighty-five percent of my countrymen live in these villages.

From this it is clear why Mahatma Gandhi opposed large-scale industrialization in India. He was not totally opposed to the develop-

ment of heavy industries, which he felt should be nationalized, but he wanted to avoid the evils which follow industrialization. Futhermore, as India is mainly rural, Gandhiji was more concerned with the welfare of the villagers. In fact, no other leader in India's long history did more to focus our attention on the needs of rural India than Mahatma Gandhi. According to him, rural reconstruction should be given priority in any program directed toward the solution of our economic problems.

Gandhiji felt that industries located in a few urban centers would not lead India to an era of economic prosperity. Moreover, when industries are developed, wealth gets concentrated in the hands of a few, and India did not want a capitalistic economy which would give to the few power of control over millions.

The first social need of India, a land of mass poverty, is the elevation of the present standard of living. I know of no other country where people are so starved. About one third of our people get adequate food. Another third does not receive sufficient nourishment, and the last third is fatally undernourished.

The gross annual income per capita of 60 percent of the population is only $9.60. When poverty is so acute it is of no use to plan for increased production unless adequate arrangements are made for equitable distribution. You, in the United States, believe that you have raised the standard of living through large-scale industrialization. Perhaps you have, but the question really is whether power and wealth concentrated in the hands of a few can provide the happiness and contentment for which the human race has been seeking from time immemorial. I believe it is necessary to have a set of values that can provide a balanced view of life. Gandhiji always emphasized spiritual values as against material values, an approach quite in accord with our ancient tradition.

Agriculture is a seasonal occupation, and for four to six months of the year, the average Indian farmer has no work to do. Gandhiji felt the need to revive village industries, which were forced out of existence by the introduction of cheap foreign goods, so that the agriculturist could keep himself engaged instead of subjecting himself annually to a period of enforced idleness. And with this object in view the All India Village Industries Association was organized.

Another great need of my countrymen is better health. Of course, it is easy to understand that when the standard of living is so low,

when there is no proper housing and adequate sanitation, people cannot enjoy good health. The death rate in 1938 was 24.3 per thousand as compared with 11.8 in the United Kingdom, and 9.6 in Australia. Twenty-five percent of the infants in India die before they are one year old. Twenty-five mothers die for every 1,000 babies born. Since some ten million babies are born annually, it means that 250,000 women die in giving birth to them. Think too of the mothers who survive, maimed or weakened in the process of childbirth.

The medical and public health services are extremely inadequate to meet our need. There is one doctor to every 6,300 of the population, one nurse to every 43,000, one health visitor to every 400,000 and one midwife to every 60,000. However, I am glad to report that the Government of India is now taking steps to implement a long-range program for bettering the health of the people by the provision of adequate medical and public health services, with special emphasis on preventive measures.

Another important social need is the liquidation of illiteracy. This again is a stupendous problem, because it is one of the root causes of many of our social evils. Western education was introduced into India by the British. But, in retrospect, we realize that it is not really fair to criticize them for that mistake, for in those days we too believed that Western education pointed the way to our salvation, intellectual and otherwise.

Perhaps the Britishers believed that if they introduced their own system of education it would promote the dissemination of culture. But, in practice, the system produced rather unhappy results. For instance, if I were to speak in one of our villages, I would be able, having been educated in the Western way, to quote freely from such sources as Shakespeare, Milton, or Plato, sources which are absolutely alien to our village folk. Even the patterns of thought implied in the quotations would appear strange to them. On the other hand, if I were to quote from the works of our own philosophers, the message would carry. I have mentioned this example only to illustrate the wide gulf that has been artificially created between the educated groups and the illiterate masses. Now that we are free from British domination, we have to tackle the stupendous problems of reorganizing our educational system from the bottom up.

We feel that India's unique culture must be revived. The continuity of our cultural development was broken during the period of

foreign domination. Now we have to collect the threads of our culture from where we were forced to leave them and shape our future in line with our glorious past. Only then can India be true to her own national genius.

It is natural that we should desire that the abiding elements of our culture should be made available to all our countrymen. This can be achieved only by giving instruction to the young in our ancient history, art, music, philosophy, etc., through the medium of their mother tongue.

How to produce books in the Indian languages is another problem that we are facing at present. If you were to ask some of the eminent scientists in India to prepare textbooks in one of the Indian languages on subjects in which they have specialized for the use of school children, they would find it difficult to do so. It is no credit to us whatsoever that we are able to speak English, for we have learned this language at the expense of our mother tongue.

While doing away with illiteracy, we must also concentrate on the work of promoting communal harmony. When you use the word "community" you use it in the sociological sense, whereas we use the word to mean the religious community. Thus, when you refer to "the Negro community," the term always covers Protestants, Catholics, and members with other religious affiliations. But when we speak of "the Moslem community," we exclude all those who are not followers of Islam. The communal disharmony which we find in India today is not really inherent in our culture.

During the last few years you have been told in season and out of season that the moment the British withdrew from India, Hindus and Moslems would fly at each others' throats. When large-scale conflict did take place some of you must have felt that British propaganda after all had proved true. In this connection, I wish to point out that the brutal massacres which occurred were the logical results of the philosophy of hatred and separation that was preached during the last several decades.

If India had always practiced intolerance, how could one account for the fact that she, above all other countries, is the home of the living religious of the world? In fact, the spirit of India is tolerance, and communities persecuted elsewhere on religious grounds have found shelter and protection there. Though the country is now torn asunder by hatred and intolerance, we are not disheartened.

I know that we are facing tremendous problems, especially the ones that are incident to the partition of our country. Transition from one form of rule to another is always a difficult matter, and we are obliged to face that problem also. I do believe that efforts to solve these great problems will certainly develop India's personality. I feel sure that in this process she will not only find herself, but will also create her future in line with her past.

The last need of India is world peace. War does not solve problems; it only multiplies them. Unless there is peace in the world, it will be impossible for India or any other country to solve her problems. We need to think more in terms of world peace. The natural urge in human beings is to help their fellow men, for wherever there is suffering the human heart responds. And so I believe that social work provides the best platform for international coöperation.

Modern means of transportation have virtually shrunk the size of the world into a neighborhood. It can be a tremendous menace to world peace unless we create out of this neighborhood a brotherhood. I believe that the greatest task of the social worker is not merely the alleviation of human suffering, but the creation of a world environment where people can live in peace and happiness. That is my message to you.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL WORK

By Eduard C. Lindeman

THE TITANIC STRUGGLE between two competing ideologies, democratic versus antidemocratic conceptions of social order, is compelling all serious-minded proponents of democracy to search for new meanings and new contexts of meaning. It is not accidental, therefore, that in this "soul-searching" enterprise we should find ourselves confronted with the pertinent question: To what extent is the profession of social work democratic in its theory and practice? In one sense, the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism appears to be a conflict between two clusters of nations, but this is a naïve and external perspective. The basic struggle of our age presents also an internal problem, internal in the sense that the struggle takes place within persons and within all nations. There are democratic and antidemocratic forces at work in us as individuals and also in our various cultures. The dimensions of personality cannot be drawn, let alone comprehended, without an understanding of the cultural nexus within which personalities emerge, evolve, and function.

This maxim may be applied to professions as well. A profession can be defined accurately only when it is examined in the light of positive elements of its cultural context. An inquiry of this nature will inevitably lead in two directions: in the first place, it imposes upon us the necessity of historical scrutiny; and in the second place, it will naturally lead to reflections concerning the future. In other words: Where has social work come from, and where is it likely to go?

This generic inquiry must, obviously, be abbreviated for present circumstances, and I therefore suggest that we begin our search by raising three relevant issues:

1. To what extent and in what degree does the profession of social work exhibit practices and values which are unmistakably attached to the ideological pattern of democracy?

2. To what extent and in what manner has the profession of social work made contributions to the formulation and realization of democratic practices and values?

3. What values and programs should the profession of social work strive to attain in the light of the assumption that it operates in a democratic culture and hence on behalf of democratic ends?

These three questions might take another form: Is social work democratic in its basic practices and values? Is social work a positive, contributing democratic force? And, finally, what kind of program of future development is forecast for social work by reason of the fact that it operates in a context of democratic goals?

Democracy, unlike some other ideological doctrines, cannot be defined in static value terms. It is of the essence of the democratic conception that life and all processes associated with it shall be regarded as possessing fluidity. This principle applies to ends and values as well as to means and methods. It is this flexible quality of democratic behavior which puzzles and annoys doctrinaire absolutists, and we must admit that the latter have all the advantage in times of crisis. Their ends and values are fixed, and hence they need never entertain misgivings or doubts concerning their actions. They enjoy precipitating crises because they know in advance what strategy they will employ. This quality of absoluteness lends to their programs a semblance of strength and consistency, an appeal which must be exceedingly alluring to those for whom uncertainty is unbearable. John Dewey expresses this lure of the absolute in meaningful language when he says:

> Uncertainty is disagreeable to most persons; suspense is so hard to endure that a sure expectation of an undesired outcome is usually preferred to a long-continued state of doubt. . . . Apart from a scientific attitude, guesses, with persons left to themselves, tend to become opinions and opinions dogmas. To hold theories and principles in solution, awaiting confirmation, goes contrary to the grain. Fear of the unknown, fear of change and novelty, tended, at all times before the rise of the scientific attitude, to drive men into rigidity of beliefs and habits; they entered upon unaccustomed lines of behavior—even in matters of minor moment—with qualms which exacted rights of expiation.[1]

It is on this account that sensitive persons, particularly those who have suffered frustrations, so often seek the haven of dogma in moments of crisis. The insensitive attach themselves to dogma because it lends sanction to persecutions and brutalities:

> The world has been continually tormented by the people who thought they had the one secret, the one God, the one Church, the one political

[1] John Dewey, *Freedom and Culture* (New York: Putnam, 1939), p. 146.

party that gives salvation. So they determined to force everybody inside their tabernacle, burning, racking, imprisoning, killing all objectors, closing up the mind, denying the use of body and brain. This is my idea of sin, and the history of the religions of the world as well as of its politics are full of that sin, of persecutions. The fanatic is always a pest. The one-track mind is always a dangerous guide.[2]

Democracy is, then, a conception which runs counter to absolutism. This is its strength in periods of reasonable stability and this is its greatest weakness in moments of emotional stress and tension. The fact that democracy is associated with pliability and the experimental mood leads some persons unhappily to the conclusion that there are no democratic values which can be adequately defined, thus leaving democracy as a vague, fuzzy ideal connected in some indeterminate manner with such nonempirical values as liberty, equality, fraternity, dignity, et cetera. It is precisely this indefiniteness and fuzziness which our generation must somehow strive to dissipate if we are to muster enough faith and courage for democracy's survival.

This will be a most difficult enterprise because the philosophical and logical work which needs to be done in order to make democratic values clear and teachable has not yet been performed. Thus far, we have lazily taken democracy for granted and have been lulled into complacency by the mellifluous and beguiling sound of those eighteenth-century words which roll so readily off our tongues: liberty, equality, fraternity. What is needed, however, is a cluster of empirical values which can be validated in part by science and in part by experience and which will have the power to make the older ideals "come alive."

I am not now asking whether social work as a profession and as a movement has been compatible with liberty, equality, and fraternity. My query is of a different and a more practical order. I wish to know, for example, whether or not social work has in the past exemplified the rule of diversity as against the rule of uniformity. I ask this question, not merely because diversity or pluralism has been historically associated with democratic doctrine, but also because attempts to achieve unity through uniformity lead inevitably to totalitarian consummations, and it is totalitarianism with which democracy is now in conflict. *E pluribus unum* is the motto of the United States, unity through diversity. Here we have a practical test which can be applied

[2] Ivor Brown, "The Golden Mean," *Listener,* Vol. XXXVIII (July 24, 1947).

to personal behavior as well as to the conduct of institutions and professions. Where in social work is this principle made manifest? Is it validated by science and the knowledge we have of nature's processes? What does experience teach? When we are able to answer these queries with concrete illustrations we shall know the extent to which social work is in harmony with democracy.

The practice of social casework, social group work, and community organization is on the side of democracy whenever and wherever it leaves an option to the client or the participant; that is, when it allows for margins of self-determination. Social work, considered to be one of the instruments for conditioning the behavior of individuals, groups, and communities, is democratic so long as it offers multiple alternatives. The moment its practitioners close the door on alternative choices, they begin to deny democratic experience.

The record of social work on this score is comparatively high, and yet there are significant and appalling exceptions. It scarcely seems credible, but there are still reputable social agencies which practice racial discrimination, thus violating the principle of cultural pluralism. One may easily find social agencies which are administered according to the dictator principle, a denial of managerial diversity. There are communities where the existing social agencies are "frozen in" in such manner as to make the rise of new and experimental approaches to social problems relatively impossible, thus negating the principle of methodological diversity. In so far as these practices persist, social work is certainly not exemplifying democratic value.

I have chosen but a single empirical value which is inherent in the democratic idea, but there are many more. For the benefit of those who may wish to carry this exercise further, I suggest an examination of the following values:

1. Under democratic conditions we must forever be satisfied with a partial functioning of our ideals. The all-or-none principle is inconsistent with democratic doctrine. Perfectionism is incompatible with democratic striving. This, as well as all other values herein mentioned, should be approached first in a critical mood. Why is this—the partial functioning of ideals—an inherently democratic value? Is it consistent when placed within the pattern of other democratic values? Once these critical questions have been satisfactorily answered,

we may then ask: How does social work apply and demonstrate this value in its theory and practice?

2. Democracy applies both to means and to ends. A program of human welfare is not democratic merely because it contemplates beneficial end results for all citizens. The end results will be ultimately beneficial only if the means used are consonant with the ends. The assumption that good ends can be secured through the use of undesirable means is both immoral and unscientific. For the people? Yes, providing *by* the people and *of* the people are both included.

3. Institutional correlation is the only practical method for resolving social problems in a complex and interdependent society. If related organizations and agencies cannot collaborate, their operations will culminate in ineffectiveness and waste even when individual institutions reach a high degree of technical proficiency. This, then, constitutes a democratic discipline. Social work functions through agencies which have in the past claimed a great deal of independence, but they operate on behalf of needs which are not independent, but interrelated.

These four disciplines should suffice to clarify the concept of democratic value. We are not now speaking of generalized and lofty ideals which may have been historically associated with the democratic idea but rather with specific tests of behavior. An individual or an institution functioning within a culture which is by affirmation democratic will automatically obey these disciplines, not because they have been imposed by authority, but because only in this manner can democracy be nourished at its source. Social work is democratic and assists in making democracy realizable and strong to the extent that it exemplifies these values.

In striving to find an answer to the futuristic question with which we began I shall forsake theoretical considerations and speak plainly and concretely and in the language of policies which are so patently democratic in character that no misgivings should remain regarding their application.

It should become the policy and practice of social work, which considers itself to be on the side of democracy, to eliminate as rapidly as possible all vestiges of punitive rewards and punishments. A client receives counsel or material assistance through the channels of the social work profession because he is in need and because social work

has evolved a method for meeting that need in ways which will leave the recipient in possession of dignity and self-respect. It must have come as a distinct shock to those who believe in this principle when a few months ago in a so-called "investigation" of the New York City Department of Public Welfare it became clear that some of the investigators and some of the newspapers appeared to believe that relief clients ought to receive some form of punishment or degradation with each relief check. Obviously, we have not yet made plain to the public that modern social work is designed to bring persons in trouble back to the normal stream of life as quickly as possible and with no loss of personal esteem. If this cannot be done, then social work cannot be genuinely democratic, since its consequences will be to rob individuals of their dignity and thus weaken the ties of loyalty between them and their community—and finally between them and their nation.

Both the voluntary and the public social agencies of the United States must move at an accelerated pace to remove all policies and practices which tend to permit discriminations against individuals on account of race, religion, color, or national origin. Our profession now stands dangerously near the point at which we may expect to be legally coerced to end discriminations. Would not this constitute a shameful indictment? Ought we not to be leaders in this movement rather than followers? Does it not seem evident that a humane profession founded upon the principle of mutual interdependence and mutual responsibility should be in the forefront of every design which aims to rid our nation of the stigma of discrimination? I know you will say "yes" to these questions, but the fact remains that social work is still lagging in this respect; some social agencies, and, alas, some under religious auspices, are still debating whether or not it might be expedient for them to drop discriminations. But this is no longer a question of expediency. It is at heart a question of whether or not the United States can sustain a position of leadership in world affairs. Certainly, that leadership is at the moment impaired by the fact that we idealistically proclaim the equality of men but reveal to the world deep-seated patterns of inequality and discrimination which reduce our ideals to hypocrisy.

In a democracy, social work will operate both through voluntary and through public, or tax-supported, agencies. This must be taken for granted since a society in which no activity is carried on by voluntary associations on behalf of education, health, recreation, and

welfare would be, perforce, a society moving toward totalitarian goals. Indeed, it may be said that the health of a democratic society is proportional to the quality of functions performed by private institutions and agencies. This duality in democratic societies is tolerable only when public and voluntary agencies engage in a friendly rivalry with efficiency and excellence as common goals. If the two forms cannot achieve a complementary relationship, that is, a basic correlation, the result will be incapacity to deal with interrelated social problems, on the one hand, and on the other, a lack of confidence on the part of the public. It should be feasible for public and private agencies to engage in joint projects ranging from coöperative research to coöperative programs of action.

All professions functioning under democratic conditions would remain closer to democratic ideals and practices if they made proper use of citizen participation. Despotism is despotism, no matter from what source it comes, and the expert who tyrannizes his client degrades democracy. In a democracy, power must always be tempered, must never become absolute or too highly centralized. Experts and the experiences of the people need to be brought into working harmony; only thus can there be established an integral relation between science and democracy. In other words, when science is called upon to serve a democratic people by means of technical skills, the carriers of these skills cannot continue to operate as authoritarians. They too must become democratized. But the process does not end here: the agencies and institutions which employ skilled personnel must also be brought within the pattern of democracy. This democratizing process can become effective only when technicians march forward to their tasks with citizens at their side. Some professions may be able to produce with a relatively high degree of acceptance without citizen participation, but social work is the one profession which cannot afford to go on alone.

It is sometimes assumed that volunteers are appropriate only to the operations of private or voluntary agencies, but this is, I believe, a serious error. One hears a mounting complaint about our growing bureaucracy; there is but one way of avoiding bureaucratic tendencies, namely, by attaching citizens to the policy-making branches of all public services. The citizen participant carries interpretations back and forth between the community as a whole and the technicians who serve it, and this two-way procedure is one of the ways in which

democracy keeps itself free from dominance, either of officials or technicians.

Speaking of the interpretive function in all professional endeavor suggests consideration of the problem of language. It is difficult to see how a profession can be comfortable in a democratic setting if it appears to the uninitiated as a kind of obscurantism, a cult to which admission is gained through the use of strange words which only "insiders" can comprehend. I am not making an appeal on behalf of oversimplification, which, as everyone knows, leads readily to falsification. Technical language performs a useful and necessary purpose, but the technician who refuses to find equivalents for common discourse is engaged in closing doors which ought, in a democracy, to be opened.

Social work may be said to be moving in the direction of democratic goals when it learns how to utilize its special insights and knowledge for the purposes of social action. The social conscience of a democratic nation can be translated into effective action when emotional zeal is buttressed with reliable knowledge and is then channeled through action techniques which meet two tests, namely, the test of bona fide public opinion, and the test of constitutional method. Social workers can function on each of these planes: humanitarians at heart, they can bring into play a healthy feeling for reform; their experiences bring them into first-hand contact with relevant facts; and they should be familiar with the means according to which democratic public opinion is formed; and finally, the ethical basis of their profession should serve to restrain them from the use of conspiratorial and nonconstitutional modes of social change. In short, social workers possess the type of competence which should make them influential and practical instruments of social action. Their responsibility in this connection is still, however, beclouded by certain professional preconceptions which hold their power in check. They are uncertain with respect to the areas of competence represented by their craft, and they entertain misgivings with regard to (*a*) the effect which social action may have upon their professional standing; and (*b*) with regard to the probable or possible conflict which may follow when and if their social action goals are counter to the interests and attitudes of those citizens whose financial support sustains their agencies and institutions. So long as these misgivings persist, it will not be possible to

bring the profession into effective alignment with democratic social action.

Both short-term and long-term social planning will become increasingly essential for the survival of democratic societies. Here again, social workers have an obligation which they have not yet been able to fulfill. Among the many misfortunes of the last quarter-century of anguished history must be listed the unhappy fact that social and economic planning has become identified with totalitarian ideologies. Certain publicists now tell us that we are confronted with a polarized alternative: we can have democracy or we can have planning, but we cannot have both. In other words, it is not possible to utilize democratic methods for planning. Consequently, the only societies which must resign themselves to anarchic and unplanned futures are those which are democratic. But this leaves the democracies at a great disadvantage, so great, in fact, that it may well mean that planned totalitarian states will win the final victory.

To insist that planning and democracy are antithetical is, in reality, a trick of language, a bit of dialectical necromancy. The major premise in this equation should be: Social and economic planning may be conducted either authoritatively or democratically; if done authoritatively, all freedoms will probably disappear; if it is done democratically, the basic freedoms may be retained.

Democratic social and economic planning would be, not merely consistent with social work theory, but a most useful outlet for social work skills. All planning begins with definitions of human needs. At this initial point, social workers could certainly make a genuine contribution. And from this point onward, inclusive of human resources, approved methods for relating various social units, and evaluations of success or failure, planners could make fruitful use of the accumulated knowledge and skills of the social work profession.

It is difficult for me to imagine how democracies can survive unless they make planned use both of human and material resources. It is equally difficult for me to see how the profession of social work can escape heavy responsibilities with respect to democratically conceived and democratically operated planning ranging from the local neighborhood to the nation itself.

I have enumerated some of the ways in which social work may become aggressively democratic, contributing to ideas and values which

give democracy its emotional and moral strength and also to the skills and techniques required for success. Philosophically and scientifically, social work belongs at the center of the democratic pattern of life. John Dewey, to quote again from my favorite mentor, has combined these two facets of democracy in a promising prophecy:

> In spite, then, of all the record of the past, the great scientific revolution is still to come. It will ensue when men collectively and coöperatively organize their knowledge for application to achieve and make secure social values; when they systematically use scientific procedures for the control of human relationships and the direction of the social effects of our vast technological machinery. Great as have been the social changes of the last century, they are not to be compared with those which will emerge when our faith in scientific method is made manifest in social works.[3]

[3] John Dewey, "Science and Society," in *Leadership in a Changing World*, ed. Hoffman and Wanger (New York: Harper, 1935), p. 276.

GOALS FOR SOCIAL WORK IN A CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

By G. Bromley Oxnam

SOCIAL WORK is creative and curative. The primary objective of social work is the creation of a society so just and so brotherly that relief and remedial service shall be reduced to a minimum, and the major activity of the social worker shall be dedicated to the enrichment of personality.

It is quite impossible to discuss "goals for social work in contemporary society" technically within the limits of this paper. It is necessary, therefore, that I deal with goals in a general sense. All the great religions, the great ethical religions, have dreamed of a new society. The Christian talks about the Kingdom of God on earth, and the Jew envisions the Messianic Kingdom. We pray, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done." What is the great objective toward which we move in all these endeavors, whether we serve in the field of public health, in certain types of institutional service—whatever may be the particular area to which we give our talent? Too often we talk about the Kingdom of God or refer to the new society, but we fail to put content into it. What do we mean when we use the term "the Kingdom of God"? Several years ago, a group of businessmen, scholars, religious leaders, and researchers sought to define the Kingdom in terms meaningful for their day. I do not think the definition they reached is a final, nor, for that matter, a comprehensive one; but it does contain the essentials. Are they realizable? This was their definition:

> It would be a coöperative social order in which the sacredness of every life was recognized, and everyone found opportunity for the fullest self-expression of which he was capable; in which each individual gave himself gladly and wholeheartedly for ends that are socially valuable; in which the impulses to service and to creative action would be stronger than the acquisitive impulses; and all work would be seen in terms of its spiritual significance, thus making possible fullness of life for all men; in which differences in talent and capacity meant proportional responsibilities in ministering to the common good; in which all lesser differences of race,

of nation, and of class served to minister to the richness of an all-inclusive brotherhood; in which there hovered over all a sense of the reality of the Christlike God, so that worship inspired service, and service expressed brotherhood.

This is an over-all, an overmastering objective for social work. I realize full well that we must discover concrete means to translate such ideals into actuality. I know that this involves a high degree of technical competence, but I also know that the ideal must be held before us. There is a beckoning quality about it. It is likewise a voice of judgment.

It would be a coöperative social order. What does that mean? It does not mean that all the work of the world will be done in co-operatives, significant as they are in the Scandinavian countries, in Britain, and in large areas of our own land. It means that the problems we confront cannot be solved by reliance upon force. They demand scientific intelligence and the coöperative spirit. We cannot move in upon the economic issues of the day and hope for solution, if we simply mobilize one group in the hope that it may be strong enough to bludgeon another group in such fashion that the percentage it takes from the productive process is larger than that of the other group. Problems are not solved that way. Man must discover scientific means to achieve moral ends. We do not solve problems by deepening class consciousness. Class is a concept too small to unite men for social emancipation. We need a larger unifying concept, one big enough to include all of us. We must move coöperatively toward democratically determined objectives and, in democratic spirit, seek to realize the ethical principles to which we give our minds and hearts.

It would be a coöperative social order in which the sacredness of every personality is recognized. How glibly we repeat such phrases! We speak of the "infinite worth of the individual" and the "sacredness of the person." I fancy you are familiar with this quotation from Adolf Hitler. He said, "To the Christian doctrine of the infinite significance of the individual, I oppose with icy clarity the saving doctrine of the nothingness of the individual." When I read that first, I did not take it seriously. I believed that intelligent men accepted the basic idea that personality is sacred. A careful study of the fascist philosophy, however, made it abundantly clear that Hitler meant precisely what he said. Mussolini, in his classic definition of fascism, said, "Fascism is for the individual in so far as he coincides with the state. For

Fascism, the state is absolute, before which individuals and groups are relative." The fascist holds that the individual is but a cell in the organism, that the primary matter is the continuing life of the organism, therefore the cell may be cut out whenever those who control the organism determine that it is necessary. I saw then the challenge flung at the fundamental concept upon which democracy is based. To quote Mussolini now is like beating upon a broken drum, but yesterday he was a Caesar, and, standing before his soldiers, he said, "Let's have done with this talk of brotherhood. The relations of state are the relations of force. One cry has come down upon the waves of the centuries and the series of generations, 'Woe to the weak.' " Is that it? Or are we to stand for a social order in which the sacredness of every personality is recognized?

One day I learned the true meaning of the Hitler dictum. I was in Weimar, a day or two after the American forces took the city, and I went out to the camp at Buchenwald. I went there skeptical. I had been in touch with the propaganda of the first World War, and doubted what we were being told concerning the second; but it was true, and more than true. As I looked into the faces of those prisoners—52,000 had died in that camp—I was struck by a strange and grotesque fact. The human face has the contour of an oval. But as I looked upon these faces, I saw that they were like triangles, the cheeks sunken, chins pointed, so starved that the whole contour of the face had changed from the oval to the triangle—"the nothingness of the individual."

It would be a coöperative social order in which the sacredness of every personality is recognized, and in which everyone finds opportunity for the fullest self-expression of which he is capable. This is but another way to express the democratic slogan of liberty, equality, and fraternity and to demand that they be translated into actuality. It is an equality in which everyone finds opportunity for the fullest self-expression of which he is capable. When someone speaks about Federal aid for education, down underneath it is a recognition that every child born in these United States of America should have equal opportunity for abundant living, and that an education, as one of the fundamental rights, should be made available to every child, regardless of race, or creed, or color. When, therefore, the economic circumstances of one area are of such a nature as to make it impossible to give the children of that area the education that is

essential to abundant living, then there is the larger obligation to carry the principle into practice and to see that everyone has opportunity for the fullest self-expression of which he is capable, and together to provide what may be necessary to bring that education to that area.

In race relations, this principle demands that a man must have the unsegregated opportunity to earn his living in terms of his capacity and his character. These opportunities must never be determined by his color or his creed.

It would be a coöperative social order, also, in which everyone gives himself gladly and wholeheartedly for ends that are socially valuable. I realize that, from one point of view, some may feel that I am repeating platitudes; not at all. I am trying to suggest an overmastering ideal for social work to which all of us must contribute, regardless of the area in which we serve. I am trying to state the overall ideal as a preface to a consideration of a specific application. I desire to relate this ideal to the question of foreign policy. All that we do in social work may be blotted out in a moment, if mankind moves into a third World War. Structures symbolic of civilization may be blasted into debris. Of what avail is it for us to build these institutions of service and to maintain the conditions of freedom if, overnight, buildings are to become rubble and freedom is to pass?

The definition goes on apace, and stresses the fact that each one must give himself gladly and wholeheartedly for ends that are socially valuable. Louis D. Brandeis is worth careful study as we consider this aspect of the definition. He knew that there are men who give themselves gladly and wholeheartedly for ends that are socially valuable; but there are men also who seek to take out more than they put in, whose service is not socially necessary, who are, in effect, parasites upon the community. Justice Brandeis recognized the engineer who can throw a bridge across a chasm, a teacher who can bring the glory of the lighted mind to succeeding generations of students, the mother who builds character and culture into the children she rears, the man whose great executive skill enhances the productive process, the leader who knows how to organize the worker to the end that his standards of living shall be raised and his productivity increased. All of these are involved in socially necessary service. Justice Brandeis made a careful study of the railroads of his day, and understood full well the genius that is essential to organize and to direct the trans-

portation system of the nation. But he was concerned with those financial manipulators not necessary to the operation of the railroads, except as capital may be necessary for expansion, men who so manipulated in the realm of finance that the railroads passed into receiverships, reorganization, and at every stage of the process they took their percentages, until at last book values did not represent real values, and attempts to earn upon impossible valuations were destined to failure.

I cannot develop the definition in further detail. It insists that the impulses to creative action and service must be stronger than the acquisitive impulses. This is understood by every social worker who is a personal challenge to the pagan axiom that self-interest is the only sufficient motive to drive men to real achievement. Remuneration must be related to the service that is rendered and greatness find life as we become servants of all.

Let me illustrate. I served as a university president for a number of years. We had one teacher among others, one of those great teachers you find once in a while upon a campus. This man taught German. The students took the first two weary years of German for the sole purpose of being privileged to sit in his classes as he taught *Faust*. He was a remarkable personality. I watched students enter his office dispirited, and emerge a bit later with smiles upon their faces, and resolve in their hearts. We used to call upon this old gentleman to give a talk in chapel at the end of the first six weeks. His subject was "Nostalgia." Students, as you know, are usually homesick before six weeks have passed, and they are resolved to go home. They give every sort of reason to justify the determination. Well, some of the freshmen did not know what "nostalgia" meant, but when he had finished talking about homesickness they were there, and they were there to stay. He taught fifty years for us. One of his students became an attorney—brilliant, able, a friend of mine—I hold him in high esteem. That attorney settled a case one day. It took him two and a half months of work. What he did was of great value to the corporation that he represented. I do not discount it. But he made more in that single case than Henry Boyer Longden had made in fifty years of teaching in a university. Something is wrong somewhere. Impulses to creative action and to service must be stronger than the acquisitive impulses. The recognition of service must be commensurate with the nature of the service.

Differences of talent, of course, mean proportional responsibility to the group. Our differences of race and of nation and of class should serve to minister to the richness of an all-inclusive brotherhood. Within the nation the cultural contributions of the people of many lands must become the possession of all. There is a false Americanism that thinks in terms of predetermined molds. All are to be poured into the melting pot, and when at last their identity is lost they are to be poured into these molds. This is not Americanism. This is its repudiation.

The definition concludes with its most significant statement: "In which there hovers over all a sense of the reality of the Christlike God, so that worship may inspire service as service expresses brotherhood."

I do not know what your faith may be. I respect it. I have my own. Nevertheless, I am convinced that as we move toward a new society there must come to mankind an understanding of the fact that we belong to one human family, that there is one Father of us all, that moral law is written into the nature of things, that this is our Father's world. I say I am so convinced that all of this must be realized by those who would lead in social work that I seek to sum it up by a personal illustration.

Many years ago when my daughter was but a tiny child, her grandfather died. She had loved him dearly. She called him by a pet name. He was not "Grandfather," he was "Fa," the simple word *F-a,* "Fa." Many times when he took her on his shoulders, I was troubled. I know better now. Grandfathers never drop grandchildren. When at last he left us, my daughter asked, "Daddy, won't Fa come back any more?" I said, "No, dear." She said, "Why?" Who can answer that? I am sure she never believed that he would not come back. One day we were in the old home in which he had lived. The hall looked out toward the boulevard. His automobile was driven up in front of the house. I can see my daughter now. She saw the automobile. She rushed down the hall, her little hands going up against the plate-glass windows of the door. She called out at the top of her voice, "Fa's come back! Fa's come back!" I am not dealing in sentimentalism, but I am suggesting that in this hour there must come back to our people a realization of the fact that there is a moral law at the heart of things, that there is loving purpose written into the nature of things, that there is a Father, that this is our Father's world.

May I now take this overmastering ideal and relate it to a concrete situation, namely, the question of foreign policy in an hour of crisis?

A foreign policy based upon the erroneous assumption that an ideology can be contained by force leaves the initiative in communist hands, directs our attention to the building up of military might, and creates the impression that war is inevitable. Do Russian threats cause us to cringe and conform? On the contrary, they call forth our resolve to resist. Does any sensible man believe that our saber-rattling will make cowards of men who fought at Stalingrad?

There are at least two factors in the Russian challenge that must be considered: one, imperialism; the other, an ideology. Armed might may block the advance of imperialistic armies, but it cannot stop the infiltration of an ideology. Our present policies appear to be developed by men better acquainted with stopping the expansion of imperialism than with ending ideological infiltration. Our policies are therefore partial; and because they are partial, they neither solve the real problem nor prevent war.

The peoples of Europe know what we are against; they do not know what we are for. They saw our superb armies defeat the forces of Hitler and of Mussolini. They understood our democratic pronouncements; and we were indeed the forces of liberation. But these people are at a complete loss to understand policies that back reactionary regimes; that support leaders who have lost the confidence of the people; that can tolerate and even coöperate with a Franco; that can even now consider the wisdom of restoring to strength a Germany that has twice made war upon democracy within a generation.

What we are for becomes more important than what we are against, because it is the practice of democracy and the creation under freedom of justice and of brotherhood that will eradicate communism. An attack upon communism, unaccompanied by a democratic program, is not likely to be successful.

Who are the counselors of the President? Has he had the counsel of religious leaders who are more interested in peace and democracy, in world law and order, than they are in the power, prestige, and property of the Church? Has he had the counsel of the leaders of labor who have demonstrated their opposition to communism by driving the communists out of their unions, but who also know that the surest way to make democracy impregnable to the attack of communism is to build a democratic society, with democratic conditions of work, decent

housing, good health, the maintenance of civil liberties, and the opportunity of all men to breathe free?

Has he had the counsel of political leaders who fought fascism and reject communism, but who know that attempts to restore reaction in Europe in the name of fighting communism will never win the good will of the common people?

Has he had the counsel of missionaries who have served their Lord overseas and are fully conversant with the yearning of the common people for more abundant living, who know that hunger has been the lot of millions through the years, and that a dole now that does not change the conditions that permit a few to live in luxury and the many to exist in poverty can never win the consent of peasants who cry for land and their children who cry for bread?

Who are the President's advisers? Has he had the counsel of fathers and mothers whose sons sleep beneath the crosses in foreign fields, fathers and mothers who proudly gave their sons that democracy and freedom might live? Is the President's only answer that of military might before which it is hoped Russia will cower?

The churches have supported the European Recovery Plan, as the President knows, but they did so with full confidence in Secretary George C. Marshall's own statement at Harvard: "Our policy is directed, not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos." The churches have evidenced their full support of this plan in a dramatic demonstration in the cathedral in Washington addressed by John Foster Dulles, and attended by the President. The churches were shocked by the linking of this sound proposal with the demand for universal military training and the reinstating of selective service.

I believe that churchmen across this nation, as citizens, believe in a strong national defense; but they are not convinced that universal military training contributes to that defense. On the contrary, they believe it weakens our defense by draining off vast sums for the routine and unimaginative training that in large measure is useless in the contemporary scene, sums that might give us an adequate intelligence force, provide for the training of specialists so essential to true defense, and support necessary research upon which all modern military forces are dependent, establish a powerful army, navy, and air force; in a word, make the nation ready, in contemporary terms, for an emergency.

But it is not my purpose here to argue the case against universal military training nor to marshal the opposition that lies in the Church, labor, education, and even in the military, an opposition inadequately reported in the press. But it is to ask: Has the President done all that can be done to keep the peace? Is the world to stand alerted forever? Are boundary lines to bristle with bayonets? Are we to hear the constant drone of motors overhead? Are men to be at radar stations day and night to await the coming of the invader?

Must we live in the hysteria of headlines, in the bated breath of broadcasts? Some columnists and some broadcasters give us the impression that they sleep under Stalin's bed, that they have seen all and heard all, but because of our immaturity and their omniscience, they cannot tell all. The holy tone of the preacher that the Church thought had been properly buried has risen from the grave to live in the radio. But, seriously, is there no more that can be done?

We have not hesitated to take unilateral action in the case of Greece and Turkey. What about the door the President said is open to Russia? What are doors for? If they are locked, they are to keep people out; but if they are open, they are to be passed through. We are strong enough to take the initiative. Surely the billions we have spent for defense must have bought something. Certainly our industrial potential that made us the arsenal of democracy is still present. Surely our resolve to remain free and to preserve freedom for mankind is alive in the American heart.

Very well, what about the door? Has the President done all that can be done? The answer is "No." Let us admit the bad manners of the Russians at past conferences, count up the vetoes in the Security Council, face realistically the frightful facts of Russian control in satellite lands and the totalitarian tyranny within its own borders. Let us remember that the czars were tyrants too. Their tyranny did not make war inevitable. With utter realism, let us face the full meaning of the communist threat to freedom, become fully conversant with the communist movement as it seeks to cover the earth. Let us face all the facts, and ask, Is there nothing more we can do than get ready for inevitable war?

First, I believe because of our strength, in fact as an evidence of our strength, that we ought to invite Stalin to conference, to sit at the table and there seek to work out some understanding that will avert war. If he will not come here, let us go there. Strong men are unafraid

of discourtesy. Let the President send a delegation of the best minds of this nation to that conference, tough minds, democratic minds, religious minds. Let him frankly say in his proposal to Stalin that our countries are close to war; that we are unafraid; that we do not believe the common people of Russia want war any more than the people of the United States want war; that sensible men ought to find some way to live together.

There are some who say this is appeasement, that it means another Munich. It is what we do at such a conference that determines whether or not it is appeasement. The weak men who bowed at Munich to the will of the totalitarian dictators were appeasers; but strong men who might attend a conference at Moscow might be able to discover a way to avert war without appeasement. Appeasement of dictators is futile. Discovering a way in which conflicting ideologies can exist in the same world is good sense.

There are those who say such a conference is doomed to failure. Suppose it does fail? What have we done in terms of the public opinion of the world? At the moment, our policies are not winning the common people. We are losing them. They are suspicious of us, and they are suspicious of the Russians. We ought to be in a position to win them. We are not. If we made such an effort and gave it proper publicity throughout the earth and the peoples of the world knew that the United States of America, facing the threat of war, had done all in its power to avert it, that result alone would justify the conference.

But I believe greater results might follow. Is it an evidence of weakness when strong men, unafraid, seek to solve such a problem? I think the reverse is true. Accompanying this suggestion from the President should be a proposal that delegations representing religion, science, art, labor, education, business, should go to Russia at once to confer with similar representatives there, solely for the purpose of coming to understand each other, and that similar delegations should come here. This is what a door is for. We talk about a door being open. Who passes through a door when an armed guard under instructions to use his bayonet stands at the door? Russia might refuse. The conference might fail. Very well. We at least would have done something positive and have taken the initiative.

I am aware of the ridiculous regulations of protocol. Protocol has little place on the battlefield. Why should it rule in peace? Has the President considered the wisdom of sending a delegation of religious

leaders to confer with the religious leaders of the world and to express to the religious leaders of the world his sincere desire for peace and his prayer that religious leaders everywhere may seek to develop the public opinions essential to peace? Has he ever thought that men who have dedicated their lives to religion, to science, to education, may have proposals to make that might be as constructive as the proposals that come from men whose training has been in the use of weapons and the application of force?

Suppose the President were to invite a man such as Kagawa and similar religious leaders from other nations, not only Christians, but Mohammedans, Buddhists, Jews, men who have given their lives to the life of spirit—suppose he invited them to this land and, together, the religious leaders of the world might offer prayer and, together, in the spirit of their respective faiths, seek to find an answer. Suppose the Patriarch of Russia were there. Is all this but to dream? Or is there something creative in these assumptions? Are they not worth the try? Your sons and my sons will be involved if we fail. The realists of Jesus's day crucified Him. They thought that they had silenced Him. There was more power in that poor broken Figure upon the cross than in all the legions of Rome.

But, more, has the President made full use of the United Nations? Are the declarations that security lies in a united world but words? I am well aware of the limitations of the Charter, and somewhat conversant with the difficulties that have been faced as a result of what we regard as Russian intransigence.

Is it impossible for the President of the United States to confer with Trygve Lie, to present the facts that lie beneath his proper concern and his fear that war is upon the horizon, and then to summon the representatives of the people of the world to present to them the whole issue and there to seek solution in that forum of the Assembly which is becoming the place where public opinion of the world is formed? How long will men dare be in contempt of that public opinion?

And suppose all of this fails, suppose conference is futile, suppose Christian leaders exercise no influence, suppose the United Nations cannot find solution? Have we not at least done vastly more than to put our fleet in the Mediterranean and to alert our forces of occupation?

Why was there not early pressure back of the Marshall Plan similar to the present pressure for universal military training? Why is it that these billions have not been made available earlier for the food

and the materials essential to the reconstruction of Europe? There was genius in the proposal of the Secretary of State. This was the proposal that should have been backed, and the kind of measures that I have been suggesting today, rather than the flinging of the gantlet. This does not mean we should have been asleep. This does not mean that we should not build up our strength. It does mean that the open door should be used until at last it is closed in our face.

The Church has a stake in all this. The churchman must speak; the churchman must act to the end that this nation takes every possible step to avert war, to build democracy, to maintain peace.

Objectives for social work—take the overmastering ideal and come to situations such as this, and then, wherever we may serve, create an opinion in the mind of the common man of such a nature that public opinion develops, a public opinion that calls for an ordered world, a brotherly world, a just world, and social workers with religious workers and groups everywhere will move to the better day of our dreams.

SOCIAL WORK AND BROAD SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MEASURES

By Arthur J. Altmeyer

IN UNDERTAKING TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT I find myself immediately confronted with the task of seeking to define "social work." If I define the term too narrowly, I am afraid I would run into some difficulty in establishing any significant relationships between social work and broad social and economic measures. On the other hand, if I define the term too broadly, social work would *ipso facto* constitute an essential and inseparable part of broad social and economic measures.

As a matter of fact, I doubt whether it is possible to define the term "social work," because a definition is, by its very nature, a static thing, whereas social work by its very nature is a dynamic concept. Our evolving concept of social work is dependent upon our evolving ideas of the responsibility of community and State in promoting the well-being of its members. As our sense of social responsibility develops, our concept of social work inevitably grows. Not so long ago, our concept of social work included almost exclusively relief and service to the underprivileged and disadvantaged. Our concept was based rather largely upon the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Our attention was focused upon the needs of the specific individual rather than upon the social institutions, the presence or absence of which affected the needs of individuals. Social work was thought of largely in terms of adjusting the individual to his environment rather than in terms of bringing environmental forces into play to assist the individual. If the term were not invidious, I would be tempted to say that the old concept of social work was essentially "manipulative"—it proceeded upon the assumption that if we worked effectively with the individual we would solve his difficulties and meet his needs.

The newer concept of social work consists, not only of counseling and assisting the individual and family in making the necessary adjustments to environment, but, more importantly, it consists of marshaling community resources to promote the well-being of individuals and of families generally. In other words, we do not think

any longer in terms of a few underprivileged and disadvantaged persons; we think in terms of all individuals and families. We think not in terms of "cure" or even "prevention," but in affirmative terms of actively promoting well-being rather than simply avoiding ill-being.

However, the new concept would include, not only affirmative and constructive welfare services, but also measures designed to promote economic security as well. Therefore, I would include in social work not only what we have come to call "public assistance," but also the social insurances. In other countries it would also include measures which do not fall under the heading of either public assistance or social insurance. I refer to children's allowances, family allowances, and similar payments based upon the status of the individual rather than upon his present needs or past contributions. In other words, I would include social security in the modern concept of social work. I would include all of this under the modern concept of social work because I believe that the same skills are involved in the administration of these various social measures.

First and foremost among the skills that social workers should possess is, of course, an understanding of human beings and human behavior; second, an understanding of the common needs of human beings; third, an understanding of the interrelationship of personal and environmental factors; fourth, an understanding of community resources and how they can be utilized most effectively to promote the welfare of individual and family. A fifth skill, which incorporates the other four skills, is the ability to translate a specific social measure into effective social action.

I would like to expand on this fifth skill. Whether a social worker is engaged in a private or public social undertaking, essentially the same skill and the same process are involved. In the case of a private undertaking, the social purpose is expressed in the charter or articles of incorporation, or some other document. In the case of a public undertaking, it is, of course, expressed in law.

In carrying out any social measures, it is necessary to have some sort of institutional setup. In the institutional setup there are two important aspects, one of which is the policy-making aspect and the other the more purely administrative aspect. Any social measure, whether private or public, by its very nature is concerned with objectives rather than exact ways and means of achieving those objectives. Therefore, it is necessary for someone within the institutional

arrangement to assume responsibility for the interpretation of those basic objectives and for establishing consistency in their application to individual cases. This is what we call "policy formulation." Most of the time, this function is assumed by a group of persons, whether that group is called an executive committee, a board or a commission. However, the chief executive officer is sometimes charged with responsibility for the formulation of policy.

When we turn to the purely administrative aspect, we find that we must give consideration to finance, personnel, organizational structure, and administrative procedures. Essentially the same problems are encountered in private and public undertakings. That is to say, it is necessary to operate within a budget and to establish controls to make certain that monies are expended properly. It is necessary to recruit, train, and supervise personnel. It is necessary to work out an organizational structure and administrative procedures which clearly define internal relationships of various interrelated functions. Of course, in any organization it is necessary to take full advantage of all the special skills that are necessary to achieve the common objective, but to integrate these special skills so that they do contribute effectively toward achieving the common objective. This problem is of special significance in the field of social work. Lawyers, doctors, accountants, statisticians, personnel experts, and other specialists are all needed. But it is the trained social worker with special competence in the substantive field of social work who must serve as the generalist and the focus for all these specialties.

The important contribution that social workers can and do make is due to the fact that they never lose sight of the ultimate objective, which is to make available to individuals and families as effectively and intelligently as possible the full benefits of the social measures which they are called upon to administer. It is difficult for persons who are not concerned with social action to appreciate the great gap that exists between social purpose, whether expressed in law or some other formal document, and social results as expressed in terms of the happiness of individual human beings. It is that gap which social workers must fill.

While I have undertaken to draw a distinction between the policy-making aspect and the purely administrative aspect, I think that what I have just said indicates that that distinction is really rather arbitrary, particularly in the field of social work. Policy cannot be formu-

lated except in the light of knowledge as to how that policy will affect the beneficiaries; and that knowledge cannot be secured without actual first-hand contact with the beneficiaries. Likewise, any policy must be interpreted by the persons in direct touch with the beneficiaries. In a field where individual application of policy is so important and where so much discretion must necessarily be lodged in the person who is in direct touch with the beneficiaries, it is particularly difficult to distinguish between policy formulation and its application. Therefore, there must be a constant exchange, or perhaps I should say pooling, of thinking and experience between those who formulate the policy and those who carry it out.

Few people outside of social workers themselves realize the great growth in governmental activity in the field of social work, defining that term to include what we call "social security." Before the turn of the century the public expenditures for public welfare were not even recorded in any systematic or readily available form. Today they are counted in the billions. Most of this increase has taken place in little more than a generation. Thus in 1913 the current outlay—local, state, and Federal—for purposes most nearly approaching social security was, as near as we can determine, around twenty-one million dollars, which was one tenth of one percent of the national income at that time. In 1940 it was approximately four and a half billion dollars, or about six percent of the national income. Moreover, public expenditures for social welfare have increased steadily. If we include veterans' benefits we find that we are now spending far more for social security than for any other purpose, except national defense. This tremendous increase is not due to a comparable increase in human needs, but to a greater recognition of the responsibility of government to meet the common human needs of its citizens.

This growth in governmental concern and assumption of responsibility was, of course, greatly accelerated by the mass unemployment that occurred during the thirties. There could be no question that this mass unemployment and the mass misery which resulted therefrom were due, not to personal derelictions or failings, but to impersonal economic forces over which the individual had no control. Neither could there be any question but that only the government itself was competent to meet the problem. The depression also brought to light the needs of disadvantaged, underprivileged, and handicapped persons generally.

Prior to the depression we had had some development in the acceptance of public responsibility for meeting the needs of disadvantaged persons. Thus a number of states had enacted old age pension laws and mothers' pension laws. However, so many of those laws were on a local option basis that the coverage was relatively small. Nevertheless, the agitation and the thinking that had gone into their development played an important part in bringing about effective social action in the 1930s.

The contribution that social workers made to the enactment of these older laws must not be overlooked. Representatives of family service societies and other voluntary agencies, recognizing the inadequacy of their resources to meet the pressing needs, took a prominent part in urging this extension of governmental responsibility. Even earlier, social workers had taken an active part in calling to public attention the social causes of poverty, disease, and crime. They urged the appointment of sanitary commissions and housing commissions. They helped organize national associations for the purpose of arousing public sentiment and promoting social action.

I need refer to only a few of these organizations that came into being after the turn of the century: the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, the National Child Labor Committee, the National Recreation Association, the American Association for Labor, the National Probation Association, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the National Federation of Settlements, the Family Welfare Association of America, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, the National Vocational Guidance Association, and the American Social Hygiene Association. These are typical of the great thrust forward that social workers gave to the drive for effective social action. Moreover, it was at the National Conference of Social Work, in 1912, that a group of social workers called together by Owen Lovejoy developed a program of standards of living and labor which served as a guide for social action generally. It was also a group of social workers who urged the Pittsburgh survey which aroused the public conscience and has served as a model ever since for similar surveys.

Therefore, the Social Security Act of 1935 should not be looked upon as a phenomenon unrelated to all the work and thinking in the social field during the preceding decades. It is a product of many minds and incorporates many of the principles which social workers

had advocated. This thinking and these principles were well known to members of the President's Committee on Economic Security and to members of the President's Advisory Council to the Committee on Economic Security. The Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, who was chairman of the Committee on Economic Security, was a social worker; Harry Hopkins and Josephine Roche, who represented the Treasury, were social workers. On the President's Advisory Council were Grace Abbott, Mary Dewson, Helen Hall, and Joel D. Hunter. The technicians who assembled the necessary data and developed the alternative recommendations worked closely with leaders in the field of social work. Indeed, it was due to the influence of social workers that the act itself was termed the Social Security Act, although the President's Committee was called the Committee on Economic Security. The more inclusive term "social security" became necessary because the act in its final form included, not only unemployment insurance, old age insurance, and the three categories of public assistance, but also maternal and child welfare and public health provisions.

The Social Security Act represented a great experiment in the field of Federal-state relations. Before the enactment of the Social Security Act the only Federal grants of any consequence that were made to the states were those for highway construction. I need not emphasize the great difference between the field of highway construction and the field of social security. In highway construction, specific physical standards can be laid down and simple inspection can determine whether they have been followed. In social security, the standards are of an entirely different character which by their very nature cannot be so final and objective. A reasonable consensus of opinion between Federal and state officials as to objectives and methods of achieving these objectives was necessary. The use of trained personnel was absolutely vital since otherwise it would have been a hopeless task to bring to the millions of persons affected the benefits provided under the Social Security Act.

I think we can say that this great experiment in the field of Federal-state relations has been eminently successful. Indeed, it has served as a pattern for further Federal-state coöperative action in the fields of health and education. If that experiment had not been successful, not only our present constitutional system defining Federal-state relations,

but our economic and social institutions as well would have been radically affected.

To my mind there are four fundamental principles incorporated in the public assistance titles of the Social Security Act which grew out of the experience of social workers and which social workers had been advocating prior to the passage of the act. They are: (1) public assistance as a matter of right; (2) a fair hearing; (3) confidential character of information; and (4) unrestricted cash payment. These principles are so familiar to us that we are sometimes prone to take them for granted. However, as we have discovered, they require constant affirmation and interpretation by social workers in order that the public generally may appreciate their full value and significance.

I have had an opportunity in the last several years to observe the influence of social work and social workers, not only in the national field, but also in the international field. As you know, social workers played an important part in the administration of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. In spite of some opinion to the contrary, I believe that UNRRA was a success, a great success, in saving the lives of millions of people, in helping war-devastated countries make at least a start toward recovery, and in promoting international good will. I do not think that the full contribution that social workers made will ever be appreciated, largely because they were used in advisory capacities rather than in straight-line administration. Nevertheless, their influence on the entire program was great and pervasive.

Social workers made a great contribution, not only to the administration of UNRRA itself, but also to the administration of the social services of the governments aided by UNRRA. One of the services that UNRRA rendered to countries affected by the war was to furnish welfare experts to assist them in the establishment or re-establishment of welfare measures and institutions. Representatives of this country at the United Nations and representatives of a number of other countries felt that these services had been so valuable that they should be continued after UNRRA had come to an end. Since there was no other international organization competent to carry on, it was necessary to place this responsibility directly upon the Secretariat of the UN. Therefore, there was included in the budget of the UN for 1947 a specific item to cover the cost of these advisory welfare serv-

ices. These services included, not only the assignment of welfare advisers to a country upon the request of that country, but also the financing of fellowships to enable welfare officials to study and observe welfare administration in other countries. In 1947 nine countries were furnished welfare advisers, and 104 officials from twelve countries were granted fellowships.

In addition, two regional seminars in social welfare were held in South America. Walter Pettit, formerly Director of the New York School of Social Work, conducted these seminars and was largely responsible for their great success. They were attended by officials and teachers interested in social work in twenty Latin American countries.

This program is being continued in 1948, and I have no doubt that the Social Commission of the United Nations will recommend its further continuance. Indeed, the Social Commission has already gone on record as indicating its belief that these advisory welfare services should constitute a part of a long-range, permanent program in the social welfare field.

This program of advisory welfare services is the only action program carried on by the UN directly. All other activities of the UN deal with the assembling of information and the serving of the various deliberative bodies of the UN. The reason why this is the only action program is, of course, because there are "specialized" agencies in the fields of health, education, and labor, but there is no specialized agency in the field of social welfare. By a "specialized agency" I mean an international organization, such as the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and the International Labor Organization. However, there is in existence an international organization, charged with what I consider the most important international humanitarian program, which has not yet acquired the formal status of a specialized agency. I refer to the International Refugee Organization.

It will be recalled that one of the important functions of UNRRA was to assist refugees and displaced persons to return to their home countries. As a result of UNRRA activities, millions of persons did return to their home countries. However, approximately one and a half million persons were unable to do so for one reason or another, or were unwilling to do so because of fear of religious, racial, or political persecution. When UNRRA was coming to an end, a little

more than half of these people were receiving care and maintenance in what are euphemistically known as assembly centers, under the supervision of UNRRA. These hundreds of thousands of persons represented the remnants of slave laborers of the Nazis and those who felt obliged to flee from their home countries. They constituted the most helpless and wretched sufferers of this last great war. It was unthinkable that they should be left to their fate without some international organization to assist them, not only to survive, but to find a place somewhere on the face of this globe where they might again live like human beings.

Fortunately, the General Assembly of the United Nations, in approving the constitution of the IRO, provided for a Preparatory Commission which could assume operating responsibilities pending the coming into existence of the IRO itself. It was my privilege, as executive secretary of the Preparatory Commission, to set up the necessary organization to take over the functions of UNRRA and of another international organization, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, in so far as they related to refugees and displaced persons. Since UNRRA was coming to an end on June 30, 1947, it was necessary to work fast in order, as someone put it, to be sure that these unhappy people would at least have something for breakfast on the morning of July 1. Through the splendid coöperation of these two international organizations, of the commanders-in-chief of the occupied territories of Germany and Austria, and the representatives of a number of governments, it was possible to meet the deadline.

I am confident that it was because of the understanding and the skill of social workers that it was possible for UNRRA and for the Preparatory Commission to deal with this tremendous human problem in a humane and reasonably effective manner. It was almost a miracle that with the necessity of herding hundreds of thousands of persons together in these assembly centers, widespread disease, suffering, and rioting did not develop. Anyone visiting these centers cannot help but be struck with the overcrowding and pitiful inadequacy of the facilities. However, no one can help but be thrilled at the constructive way in which social workers have handled this almost insuperable problem. They have converted the assembly centers into self-governing communities with all the values that result therefrom. Not only is the health of these refugees unusually good, but their spirit and morale are marvelous, considering the hardships they have suf-

fered and the uncertain future which they face. I am certain that if it had not been for the social workers the situation would have been far different and a blot on the conscience of the world.

Let me also say that if we are ever to solve the problem of the refugees it is to the social workers that we must look for advice and assistance. Due largely to the influence of social workers, the governments receiving these refugees are more and more recognizing the necessity of maintaining family unity. Governments are also increasingly recognizing the necessity for establishing adequate reception facilities and services for these families when they arrive in their new country. Again this is due to the influence of social workers.

I also believe that social workers can make a great contribution in the administration of the European Recovery Program. In supporting this program the American people are actuated by humanitarian, economic, and political considerations. Economic recovery is rightly emphasized. However, it is necessary to meet the immediate needs of the people of the country being aided in order to promote economic recovery. It is the people of a country who must be relied upon to make effective use of the raw material and machinery which make up the recovery program. Therefore, it is necessary that consumer goods be distributed in such a way as to promote the physical vigor of the people and to create incentives for the people to participate in the recovery programs. Social workers are, of course, familiar with all the techniques involved in determining human need, the problems of large-scale distribution, and the effective use of community facilities.

It should be noted that under the ERP it is not the Economic Cooperation Administration, but the governments themselves that carry on the necessary activities within their own territory. Therefore, the relationship which exists between the Economic Coöperation Act and these governments is somewhat similar to the relationship that exists between the Federal Government and the states under the Social Security Act. Under the Social Security Act, grants-in-aid are made only to states which submit plans of operation conforming to the standards contained in the Social Security Act. However, the sovereign character of the states is scrupulously recognized, and they are therefore left free to administer their own plans in accordance with the provisions thereof. Because of this similarity, public welfare administrators in this country would understand how to establish a con-

structive, continuing relationship between this government and the foreign governments receiving aid, which while requiring adherence to agreements would not involve interference in carrying out such agreements.

It is interesting to note the many similarities in the administrative problems that arise. As I have just indicated, there is an analogy between the Federal-state relationship under the Social Security Act and the relationship between this government and governments being aided under the ERP. But this is a bilateral arrangement, so far as governments are concerned. However, in the case of an international organization, there are also similarities. Thus, as regards the development of major policy, the same sort of relationship must be established between the representative governing body of an international organization and its executive head as exists between the board of directors of a private welfare organization, or a county board, on the one hand and an executive director on the other hand.

In my work with the Preparatory Commission for the IRO I discovered that the same problem of defining eligibility of beneficiaries exists. It was necessary to issue interpretations of eligibility and issue instructions regarding the exact way in which these interpretations should be carried out in order to assure uniformity and equity to the beneficiaries. Unfortunately, I also discovered a great similarity as regards an adequate budget in the face of proven need. Therefore, it was my painful duty, not only to require a review of eligibility of those already receiving care and maintenance, but to restrict the acceptance of new individuals to emergency cases only.

I believe that social workers, by reason of their professional equipment, have a unique contribution to make. I believe that they must make this contribution, not only in promoting social action, but in carrying out social action. They are in a position to make a unique contribution because their experience gives them an understanding and appreciation of human needs, because they are able to furnish the facts as to human needs, and as to the causes of destitution and other social evils, and because they are in a position to assemble the best thinking and methods for dealing with social problems. Social workers, of course, are in a unique position to carry out social action because, as I stated at the outset, they possess the necessary skills for translating social purpose into social results as expressed in terms of happiness of individual human beings.

The importance of social work in contributing to effective social action is just beginning to be realized by people generally. However, its actual contributions have been so great and its potentialities are so much greater that I am confident that recognition of its importance will be increasingly rapid in the years immediately ahead. Sometimes I have thought that the reason why social work as a profession is not always fully recognized as coördinate with the fields of education and health is because there are no visible physical arrangements which emphasize the existence of a specific professional field. We actually see schoolhouses every day of our lives, and we actually see hospitals, but we have nothing comparable in the field of social welfare. Someday I hope that we will have welfare centers in every community and that these welfare centers will be associated with the welfare of the entire community. Certainly our founding fathers when they used the term "public welfare" in our Constitution could not have dreamed that we would have so perverted that term as to make it almost a term of disparagement.

Probably a more fundamental reason for not recognizing social work as coördinate with the fields of education and health is because social workers must take advantage, not only of the resources in the fields of education and health, but in all fields. Therefore, just because social work is essentially an integrating profession, its separate character is not so apparent.

It is just because of this integrating character that social work can make such a great contribution to successful social action. In a world that has suffered and is continuing to suffer so grievously from what one might term "disembodied science" and "disembodied professions," I submit that the profession of social work has an essential and unique role to perform. Social workers must continue to emphasize and re-emphasize that the success or failure of all political and economic institutions, whether local, national, or international, must be measured by their effect upon the well-being of human beings. They must continue to emphasize that nations exist to serve their people.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMS FOR THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING

By George G. Higgins

MAY I SUGGEST that a discussion of wages and wage programs, if it is to be meaningful and realistic, ought to be carried on against the broad perspective of the requirements of a full employment economy. It is no longer adequate, if indeed it ever was, to talk about wages in a vacuum, as though wages were unrelated to prices, profits, and other types of income. It is no longer adequate to ask: Is this man's income enough to support himself and his family? Admittedly, this is a basically important question and one which has yet to be answered affirmatively in the case of hundreds of thousands of American workers. Increasingly, as time goes on, however, we must be asking ourselves an even more important question: Is this man's wage—in relation to prices and profits and in relation to the wages of other workers—sufficient to guarantee maximum production and maximum employment at high levels of consumer income and consumer satisfaction?

What I am suggesting is that the social worker—and the rest of us, of course—must be ready to embark upon what Professor John M. Clark, of Columbia University, refers to in a recent collection of essays as "an adventure in reconstruction." [1] Professor Clark points out that "economically we are no longer a community" [2] and that, since we are not a community, we have no way of organizing our resources effectively for full production and full employment and for those intangible benefits which a well-ordered economy can reasonably be expected to make available. The "community status" of another age, however imperfect it was and however inadequate it would be for the needs of today, has been replaced, he says, by the so-called "competitive market"—a system which,

> has been built on the myth of the absolute individual, whom the state and the community exist to serve, the community being an arithmetic sum of

[1] John M. Clark, *Alternative to Serfdom* (New York: Knopf, 1948), p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*

such individuals and the state their agent, serving them best by giving them the maximum of liberty to serve themselves. . . . We have all gradually discovered though many have not admitted it [he concludes] that markets can organize material interests only, and not all of these, and that this is not enough to constitute a society.[3]

What is needed "to constitute a society," and to arrive at maximum production and maximum employment, is not free enterprise, on the one hand, nor, on the other hand, centralized governmental control, but a balanced system of continuing coöperation of the various economic groups among themselves and with the government. If we are prepared to accept this conclusion, which, incidentally, is also the principal long-range conclusion of the several Economic Reports of the President and the parallel reports of his Council of Economic Advisers, perhaps we will be prepared, also, to accept the further conclusion that the social worker of tomorrow will have to raise his sights. The intelligent social worker of yesterday was interested in minimum wage legislation, in social security, in low-cost public housing, and in similar worth-while, though somewhat limited, objectives. He will have to continue his interest in these and in other important specifics. But he will also have to look beyond such immediate and specific remedies for immediate and specific evils and make his full contribution to the re-establishment of a functioning "economic community," as described by Professor Clark and by so many other thoughtful analysts of the present economic system. He will have to encourage the organization of workers into trade unions of their own choosing as he has done in the past. But he will also have to encourage the growth of a system of economic democracy in which trade unions, for the first time in our history, will be permitted to carry out their full purpose and to make their full contribution to economic prosperity and economic stability—a system in which organized labor, instead of being limited to traditional collective bargaining over wages, hours, and working conditions, will be permitted, for the first time, to coöperate with management and the government in determining the whole range of those basic economic decisions which, when properly balanced, add up to full production and full employment.

The social worker, even as the economist, the sociologist, and the

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

political scientist, must come to look upon himself, in all humility, as a technician whose purpose ought to be to make his own specialized services progressively less and less necessary as the years go on. This he can do by lending his full support to those movements which are designed to recreate Professor Clark's "economic community" and thereby to recreate the conditions prerequisite to full employment.

1. *Social work's interest in the right to a living wage.*—Social work's interest in the right to a living wage is so very obvious that one almost apologizes for mentioning it. Suffice it to say—and I trust that this is not economic determinism—that a large percentage of the problems which call for the specialized services of the professional social worker is directly attributable to the fact that hundreds of thousands of American workers are not receiving a living wage.

Precisely how much a living wage would be at the present time in terms of 1948 dollars and precisely how many American workers are receiving less than this figure are extremely difficult questions to answer. But if we accept the findings of the recent study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor on standards and cost of living and relate these findings to the best available income statistics, such as those in the most recent Economic Report of the President, we are forced to conclude that the vaunted American standard of living is still on paper so far as millions of our citizens are concerned. It is an objective toward which they are striving, not a goal at which they have already arrived.

In March, 1946, the estimated total cost of the Bureau of Labor Statistics city worker's family budget ranged, over thirty-four cities, from $2,573 to $2,985. In that same year, 28.2 percent of all American families received a total money income of less than $2,000. Even allowing for the fact that the latter figure is an over-all figure which includes farm families, which, of course, receive a certain amount of income in kind, as well as city families, which are almost always totally dependent on money income, we are still faced with the fact that millions of Americans in 1946 were unable to purchase all the goods and services which go to make up the so-called "standard" budget of the Bureau, a budget which the Bureau itself describes, however vaguely, as representing "neither a 'subsistence' nor an 'ideal' level of living."

Comparable figures for 1947 are somewhat more difficult to arrive

at. It would be safe to conclude, however, that the situation of the worker was relatively less satisfactory in 1947 than it was in 1946. To quote the President's Economic Report:

> From June 1946, following the "first round" of wage increases, to October 1947, the cost of living rose 23 percent compared with an increase of 18 percent in weekly earnings in manufacturing. . . . Though labor as a whole through wage gains was as well off at the end of 1947 as at the beginning, workers had lost ground steadily in terms of real income during the last half of 1946. . . . This, primarily explains the "second round" of wage increases. It also helps to account for the present movement for further wage advances unless an effective anti-inflation program is adopted.

In the light of these facts, I take it as self-evident that the social worker ought to be vitally interested in efforts which are being made to improve upon existing Federal and state minimum wage legislation and to enact minimum wage legislation in those states which, incredible as it may seem, have yet to provide any sort of wage protection for their own citizens. The Federal law, which provides for a forty-cent hourly minimum, is obviously inadequate to the needs of today and therefore ought to be amended upward to at least sixty-five cents and preferably to seventy-five cents without further delay. Opposition to this needed amendment, which has been hanging fire for several years, is discouragingly impressive and influential. The social worker, who, of all people, has reason to know about the evil effects of inadequate wages, owes it to the honor of his profession to counteract this shortsighted opposition by joining with the labor movement and with other like-minded organizations to guarantee the immediate passage of the amendment. In so doing, the social worker will be contributing, not only to the alleviation of the present distress of the American family, but also to the continuance of full employment; for, unless the masses of American people are provided with sufficient purchasing power, our highly complicated economy is likely to drift into another serious depression. The social worker, of course, knows better than most of us what that would mean to the American community.

2. *The role of labor in raising living standards.*—Important as minimum wage legislation is, however, it is still only one approach to the problem of wage justice, and not by any means the most important approach at that. The most important approach to wage justice is the day-to-day approach of the trade union movement, operating

within the industry itself and, for the most part, independently of the legislature, in a continuing effort to come to a peaceful agreement with management on a more adequate and more equitable distribution of the fruits of production. This is obvious; but what may be somewhat less than obvious is the fact that collective bargaining between labor and management is currently at the cross roads.

Organized labor is being advised today, sometimes sincerely but sometimes, I suspect, from ulterior motives, to abstain from further wage demands lest another round of wage increases lead to another disastrous round of price increases. The point is well taken—and, incidentally, it is taken more seriously by labor than the public sometimes imagines. The crucial fact remains, however, that organized labor has no assurance whatsoever that heroic abstinence on its part would be reciprocated by the other segments of the economy. More specifically, organized labor has no assurance whatsoever that prices would automatically come down if the workers were voluntarily to forego another round of increases. On the contrary, labor is inclined to prophesy that prices will continue to rise regardless of the wage policy of American unions. Organized labor is literally being compelled, therefore, to ask for wage increases even though it knows beforehand that such increases, if granted, will inevitably be used as an excuse for further price increases.

The solution to this dilemma lies, I suggest, in expanding the scope of collective bargaining, in evolving gradually into a system of economic democracy in which labor will be permitted to have a voice in determining prices as well as wages. A radical suggestion, if you will, but the alternative, as I see it, is an all-out fight between big labor and big management, which, as the situation worsens, will gradually throw the wage-price-profit problem into the lap of the government.

Once again, then, the social worker can make a contribution to American society by encouraging labor and management to experiment open-mindedly with new techniques of bargaining adapted to the new problems of a new generation.

3. *The annual wage.*—One of the newer and more important approaches to wage justice is the so-called "annual wage." The annual wage is a necessary step in the right direction, but, again, it is a step which will not be taken unless management and labor expand the traditional scope of collective bargaining. The annual wage, almost by

definition, involves a complicated series of detailed adjustments within the economy, adjustments which call for the very best thinking that the combined resources of labor, management, and government are capable of producing.

At present, labor can merely continue to agitate for the adoption of the annual wage. This it ought to do, with the hope that, once the reasonableness of the demand is accepted in theory, management will then be disposed to sit down with labor to work out jointly the details of a program which neither labor nor management is capable of working out alone.

Professor Joseph L. Snider, of the Harvard School of Business Administration, makes the foregoing point in his excellent study *The Guarantee of Work and Wages:*

> More important than exactly how much of a guarantee an employer might be high-pressured into granting is getting him to grant a guarantee at all. In other words, the first objective of labor should be to persuade employers to recognize a basic obligation toward labor with respect to employment security. After labor has secured the general recognition of this basic obligation, it can then shift its emphasis to ways and means of getting the amount of the guarantee increased.[4]

Incidentally, Professor Snider, in wholesome defiance of the traditional neutrality of the professional economist, begins and ends his thoughtful treatise with a welcome emphasis on morality. "By no means all the promising procedures for business stability," he says, "are economic or political in character. There are important moral elements also." [5]

The social worker, by virtue of his intimate contact with people—as opposed to statistical abstractions—is, or certainly ought to be, admirably conditioned to recognize those "moral elements" to which Professor Snider refers. So much the more compelling, therefore, is the social worker's responsibility to foster and support every possible effort to apply the principles of Christian ethics and morality to economic and social life. We face no easy task, says Professor Clark, "in trying to reintroduce adequate precepts of social morality into an economic structure that is firmly established and has grown up for something like a hundred and seventy years on the theory that it could get on very well without them." [6]

[4] Joseph L. Snider, *The Guarantee of Work and Wages* (Boston: Harvard University, Division of Research, 1947), p. 105.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[6] Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

The difficulty of the task must not be permitted to frighten us or to distract us from our common responsibility; for, as Professor Clark is frank to tell us, "unless the revived attempt to make Christian ethics effective in temporal affairs" succeeds and "succeeds measurably, our civilization will not endure." [7] When the professional moralist talks like this, our more sophisticated neighbors are all too likely to smile indulgently and let it go at that. But Professor Clark is not a professional moralist. He is a hard-headed economist who, like his distinguished father before him, has sounded the depths of the statistical and purely technical approach to economics and, in spite of, or perhaps precisely because of, his long preoccupation with the so-called "scientific approach," he is now more convinced than ever that "morals makyth man" and that morals makyth economic prosperity and economic stability. Let us hope that the majority of Americans agree with him.

4. *Union welfare funds and family allowances.*—In the light of the moral or "social-justice" approach to which both Snider and Clark attach such importance, we may conclude this all-too-inadequate discussion of wages and wage programs by expressing approval of two other innovations which are receiving merited attention: union welfare funds and family allowances. Both, again, are constructive steps in the right direction of carrying out the purpose of economic life, which is to provide for all its members, and especially for its family units, the fullest possible measure of material welfare and security.

It goes without saying, of course, that the last word has yet to be spoken on the technicalities of union welfare funds. How best to administer such funds is a question which remains to be solved, experimentally if you will, by labor, management, and the public. If all three will face the problem honestly and in a spirit of compromise and good will, a satisfactory answer can certainly be found.

It also goes without saying that family allowances—and I speak now of a governmental program similar in general purpose and outline to the Canadian plan and to the long-established systems of certain other foreign nations—have likewise to be thought through more thoroughly in the light of American conditions. Particularly should it be kept in mind that a family allowance system is not and cannot be a substitute for an adequate wage program within industry itself. A family allowance system at best is a partial and supplementary ap-

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

proach to the total problem of wage justice, as the trade union movement has traditionally pointed out. Fully conscious of this fact, Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, has authorized the preparation of a draft bill to be introduced, under his worthy auspices, at the earliest possible moment. Nothing but good can result from the widespread discussion and debate which will inevitably be aroused by the introduction of such a bill. If eventually an acceptable family allowance system is enacted into law, the United States will have taken another long step toward the more complete fulfillment of the promise which we like to think of as implicit in the very definition of democracy: the twofold promise of economic security plus the fullness of human liberty and freedom.

CURRENT LIVING COSTS

By Charles D. Stewart

THE IMPROVEMENT in employment and employment opportunities in recent years has resulted in a lessening of public interest in problems of public assistance. So far, public administrators and social workers have not succeeded in arousing sufficient public support, generally, to prevent the deterioration of living standards of persons dependent upon public assistance as living costs increase. It may be debatable whether public assistance standards were adequate in 1940; it is not debatable, where money allowances have not been increased, that public assistance standards have been worsened by the effects of rising prices.

We may first approach the problem by examining the increase in per capita income since the prewar period. On a per capita basis, dollar incomes have more than doubled. The 1935–39 average is shown in the statistics as $513 per capita; for the second half of 1947 the comparable figure is $1,250. The real increase, however, was only half as great: in terms of 1947 dollars, per capita income increased from about $800 before the war to roughly $1,200, or about 50 percent, at the present time. This is a crude measure of the rise in income, but it is basic and significant.

If we go one step further, we can examine the broad changes that have occurred in income distribution among American families. We discover from our rather scanty data that the increases in income have been greatest in the lower 40 percent of the income scale. In terms of 1946 purchasing power, the first 20 percent of families in the income scale, who averaged $498 in 1941, averaged $835 in 1946, an increase of 68 percent. Those in the second 20 percent increased from $1,275 to $2,023, or 59 percent. These gains were made despite an increase in consumers' prices of about 33 percent from January, 1941, to June, 1946. Those in the highest three groups show increases of 36 percent, 30 percent, and 20 percent, respectively.

These figures refer to income after adjustment for changes in the level of consumers' prices, but before tax deductions. Thus, while

understating the gains made in income distribution, because of the effects of progressive income tax rates, the figures overstate the real, disposable income of families after tax deductions. Since that time, moreover, consumers' prices have increased by about 20 percent, an increase not generally matched by increases in family incomes.

It should be noted that the groups do not consist of identical families in 1941 and 1946. There is, in fact, a marked change in the composition of the families in the lower 20 percent of the income scale. The President's Economic Report in January, 1946, noted that "many persons formerly unemployed, or farmers formerly operating at marginal levels, have moved out of the lowest group, while persons living on small fixed incomes have moved down relative to others."

This change in the composition of the lowest 20 percent of families on the income scale can be readily inferred from three important changes shown in our employment and unemployment statistics:

1. Unemployment, averaging more than 5,500,000 in 1941, averaged only about 2,250,000 in 1946 and 1947.

2. Agriculture, averaging more than 9,000,000 in 1941, now employs only about 8,250,000. The decrease represents largely a voluntary exodus from farms induced by job opportunities elsewhere at a time farm incomes were showing marked improvement.

3. Nonagricultural employment over the same period has increased by about 8,500,000.

The lowest 20 percent of families on the income scale are not now comprised of any single group, but there is evidence that, as against 1941, a larger proportion consists of persons dependent to a large degree on small fixed incomes. The number of persons receiving public assistance at the end of 1946 was about 4,000,000. Veterans living on pensions number about 3,000,000. Survivors and social security beneficiaries total about 2,000,000 persons, and veterans living on educational allowances, without other jobs, about 2,000,000. These persons are not necessarily the only income recipients in a family, and some have other sources of income.

The rapid increase in the cost of living since the summer of 1946, therefore, affects larger groups of persons with fixed incomes throughout the whole of American society—not only recipients of public assistance.

For any comparison of the impact of recent economic changes upon families not regularly employed with those regularly employed, the

data suggests that we look primarily at those groups of families and individuals with incomes averaging $1,500 or more in 1946. According to United States Census Bureau surveys for 1946, over 63 percent of nonfarm families or individuals not in family groups had incomes ranging between $1,500 and $5,000. These constituted the bulk of all regularly employed workers in moderate-income classes. About 20 percent fell below the $1,500 income figure, and about 16 percent had incomes over $5,000.

This large group of more than 20,000,000 family groups or individuals included more than 19,000,000 of the 28,800,000 nonfarm families and over 1,000,000 of the 3,200,000 individuals not in family groups. Their income tended to vary according to size of families, reflecting differences in earning ability according to age of primary earners and also additional workers in the larger families.

The data as published by the Census provide no specific information on changes in income of identical families or individuals. The median income for all families or unattached individuals, however, almost doubled from 1939 to 1944—from $1,345 to $2,528—and increased to $2,838 in 1946. In general, then, as we noted before, income increased more rapidly than living costs from 1939 to 1944, and has tended to lag behind price changes since that time.

We see essentially the same trends if we look at industrial wages. For all manufacturing, for example, average hourly earnings doubled from sixty-three cents in 1939 to $1.27 by the end of 1947. If we again adjust for changes in consumers' prices, there was an increase in real hourly earnings of roughly 25 percent to the end of the war and some decline since that time, despite increases in wage rates. Weekly earnings in all manufacturing averaged $52.74 at the end of 1947 as against $23.86 in 1939. In short, the real income of wage earners has increased substantially, if we refer back to 1939, but has tended to worsen if we refer back to the wartime peak when prices were under control and long hours were being worked. Some individuals have gained more than others. Wages in some industries have increased more noticeably than in others. It is quite significant, however, that wage increases from 1941 to 1946 were generally greatest in the lower wage brackets and in low-wage industries.

The most comprehensive single index showing what has happened to the cost of living of moderate-income families in cities is the consumers' price index issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the

United States Department of Labor. It gives a bird's-eye view of changes in living costs. This index averaged about 100 for 1939–40, or roughly equal to the average for the five-year period 1935–39. Prior to effective price control (the hold-the-line order) in the spring of 1943, living costs for moderate-income families in large cities rose 25 percent, and advanced slowly thereafter to about 133 in the index in June, 1946. Following the elimination of price controls and of certain governmental subsidies in the summer of 1946, the index rose rapidly to 167–68 at the beginning of 1948. Thus the increase in those twenty months was approximately as great as that in the preceding sixty months.

There have been, of course, great variations between costs of different goods and services. Foodstuffs in general now cost 115 percent more than before the war; clothing, 90 percent more; housefurnishings, 90 percent more; fuel, electricity, and ice, 30 percent more. Rents, still subject to some controls, are only about 12 percent higher, but since July of 1947 they have advanced each month. Depending upon circumstances, living costs for some families have advanced more than the 67 percent average shown by the index; for other families, less. Those, for example, who have had to buy homes, because of the shortage of rental housing, have generally experienced greater increases in costs for shelter than those who have continued to rent. There is also variation between geographic locations, but perhaps not so much as one might suppose.

In the spring of 1945 a subcommittee of the House of Representatives directed the Bureau of Labor Statistics "to find out what it costs a worker's family to live in the large cities of the United States." The subcommittee indicated that it wanted to know the relative differences in living costs between cities and, in addition, it also wanted to know the total number of dollars required for the average worker to live in these cities.

The City Worker's Family Budget, drawn up with the assistance of technical consultants, involves important advances in the construction of such budgets, and avoids many of the arbitrary judgments inherent in "subsistence" or "minimum" or "decent standard of living" budgets in the past. Technically, "the budget level is, by definition, the level of living from which further reductions meet the greatest resistance." The budget describes average choices. "It lays out only the general level of purchases for each category and describes

the choices made by groups of families" on the basis of the best information available.

Ford Hinrichs, former Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, has characterized it in this way:

> It can best be described as a single point on a scale of living patterns that ranges continuously from a mere existence level to levels of luxurious living where the consumer is almost surfeited with goods. The point selected for measurement is in general the point where the struggle for "more and more" things gives way to the desire for "better and better" quality. Above this level, for example, the average family is likely to be more interested in escaping from an endless round of the cheaper cuts of meat than in increasing the number of pounds of meat that it buys. Below this level, on the other hand, people find it harder and harder to economize, being unable to shift extensively to cheaper commodities and therefore forced to "do without."

For our present purposes we are interested in the results of this study from several points of view:

1. We may note briefly the general results of the budget study in terms of dollars and cents. In June, 1947, the costs of goods and services included in the city worker's family budget ranged from $2,734 in New Orleans to $3,111 in Washington, D.C. If we add taxes, insurance, and occupational expenses, which account for 8 to 12 percent of the cost of goods and services, the total cost of the budget ranges from $3,004 in New Orleans to $3,458 in Washington, D.C., as of June, 1947. I may remark that no average figure has been computed for the country as a whole. The budget was priced in thirty-four large cities, and the results range between the extremes I have indicated.

2. A second result is the relatively limited difference in total costs in the cities surveyed. In June, 1947, the difference in the cost of goods and services for a four-person family was $375. When taxes and other expenses are taken into account, the difference increases to approximately $450. That the differences are not great may be seen more clearly if we exclude from consideration, for the moment, the three highest cities—Washington, Seattle, and New York—and the three lowest—Kansas City, Houston, and New Orleans. The difference is then only about $200.

The principal factors in these intercity differences are the cost of housing, which depends on many local circumstances; variations in fuel and clothing costs, which depend mainly on differences in climate; transportation; and taxes. Where the cost of housing is rela-

tively high, the total cost of the budget is at the upper end of the range; where it is relatively low, the cost of the budget is at the lower end of the range.

The differences in the cost of housing of the specified standard among the thirty-four cities in June, 1947, was about $300, or more than three fourths of the total variation in the cost of the budget among the cities.

The cost of food has a narrow range of less than $100 and, accordingly, does not account in any important degree for the relative position of the different cities in their ranking by budget costs.

Clothing costs do not vary greatly among cities except where climate is a factor. The range in clothing costs amounted to only $85 in June, 1947. Climatic differences explain in part the position of Minneapolis toward the upper end of the range and the low position of Jacksonville—the coldest city and the warmest city among the thirty-four surveyed.

3. We may note the relative cost of the major elements in the budget. For this purpose we may select Birmingham, because its costs are in the middle range. For simplicity we will exclude taxes, insurance, contributions, occupational expenses, and so forth, which in Birmingham amounted to 11 percent of the total budget cost.

If we take the budget for goods and services alone as 100, food costs represented over 36 percent of the total in June, 1947, in Birmingham.

Housing, including housefurnishings, fuel, and light in addition to rent, represented 24 percent.

Clothing for the family required about 15 percent of the total; transportation, 9 percent; medical care, 5½ percent; other goods and services, 10 percent.

Thus, out of a total expenditure of $2,900 for goods and services in Birmingham in June, 1947, food cost over $1,050; shelter over $700; clothing, $425; medical care, $161; transportation, $261; and all other goods and services about $300.

4. We are able to measure the change in total cost of the budget and the components of the budget between March, 1946, when the budget was originally priced, and June, 1947, when it was priced for the second time. The increases in budget costs were roughly $350 to $450, with increases of $400 predominating. Since June, 1947, there have been further increases in living costs; and although the increase is only about one-third that of the change between March, 1946, and

June, 1947, there is no doubt that the budget, if priced again today, would be higher than in June of 1947. The Bureau of Labor Statistics hopes to be able to undertake a resurvey in the fall of 1948.

We may again use Birmingham as an illustration of the impact of rising prices upon family expenditures. All major items of the budget cost more in June, 1947, than in March, 1946. In Birmingham, food cost an additional $233; clothing, an additional $68; housing, an additional $31; transportation, an additional $13. Medical care required $6 more, and other goods and services, $32 more.

The survey, of course, does not show how families actually spent their incomes as prices rose. This would depend upon individual circumstances. Their incomes may or may not have increased sufficiently during the period to enable them to maintain the same standard of living. Reserves in the form of savings would vary from family to family. Each family would make its own individual decisions. It is fairly certain that higher food costs have squeezed expenditures for other purposes. We do know that the net rate of individual savings has declined, and that consumer credit has continued to expand. Apparently, consumers who are now drawing upon accumulated assets are using these savings for general living expenses as well as for durable goods.

Any appraisal of the changing balance between incomes and living costs of regularly employed workers is extremely difficult. There is no "average family" which possesses any reality. If we compare the situation today with prewar conditions, however, there can be no doubt that wage-earning families have improved their position substantially. Despite the larger share of national output for uses other than domestic civilian consumption, it is clear that living standards are higher than they were before the war. Inflationary conditions are dangerous, but in our economy today they are symptomatic of virtually complete utilization of manpower and other resources, as well as symptomatic of shortages and imbalances. Under such circumstances there is a minimum of involuntary unemployment, and the labor market situation is favorable for the establishment and maintenance of a relatively high wage level.

The income-price relationship and the savings capacity of wage-earning families reached their most favorable positions prior to the end of the war. Savings are now lower than they were at that time, but this reflects the greater availability of goods for consumption as well as

the effects of higher costs on the ability to save. However, as we have noted, incomes from wages have hardly matched price increases in the past two years and, despite continued regularity of employment, the position of wage-earning families has not generally improved.

Viewed against this background of developments affecting the welfare of regularly employed workers, it is unmistakably clear that the situation of persons living on fixed incomes—not only those dependent on public assistance, but millions of others—is extremely serious. In a period of general prosperity, social workers face difficulties in touching the public conscience and, at the same time, they have an increased responsibility to do so.

LOCAL, STATE, NATIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY IN SOCIAL WORK

By Donald S. Howard

WHEN I WAS ASKED to discuss this subject I delved into the history of the National Conference of Social Work itself, certain that I would find the sessions in the earlier years dealing primarily with local welfare questions, the sessions in the middle years dealing with state issues, the later years primarily concerned with national issues, and the past few years more concerned with the international aspects of welfare matters. Imagine my surprise, therefore, when in the Index to the National Conference *Proceedings,* under "Public Welfare," I found under the earliest date listed—1891—the subject "Public Welfare Administration in Europe." Under "County," the earliest reference was to a paper on the administration of county institutions given in 1903. The earliest entry under the heading "Local" was a paper given in 1933.[1]

In contrast, there was in 1883 a paper on the International Congress for the Protection of Children, and in 1886 one on the International Prison Congress. As would be expected, quite a number of "international" papers were given during and immediately following the first World War. If this early emphasis upon international action comes as a surprise it may be worth recalling that when Federal aid for unemployment relief was first being urged in the 1930s, the precedents cited in support of the proposal included the relief appropriations voted by Congress for Venezuela in 1812, for Cuba in 1899, for the French West Indies in 1902, and for Italy in 1909.

Only state issues appeared somewhat in the way that I had expected, showing up with considerable frequency during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the state boards were striking their stride, and in the first quarter of the twentieth century, when state supervision of county operations occasioned a great deal of dis-

[1] Although they were not listed under the heading "County," there were, however, earlier papers, such as one in 1884, on the administration of almshouses, which I found to have been largely county institutions. Similarly, references to "municipal" administration appear sometime between 1885 and 1904.

cussion. This is not surprising, however, in view of the fact that the Conference was first established as a conference of state board members.

There is no need exhaustively to analyze the present situation with respect to local, state, national, and international participation in various welfare services. It is enough to recall that different services involve widely different degrees of participation. Court social services, jails, and, in some localities, free medical care and general assistance are exclusively local matters with no degree of state or other participation. Localities and states together sometimes jointly participate in the administration of general assistance and in care of the tuberculous, of the mentally ill, and of dependent children. States alone sometimes operate mental hospitals, schools for the blind, and industrial schools for so-called "delinquent" youths. States, localities, and the Federal Government together normally participate in public assistance under the Social Security Act. The states and Federal Government acting together sometimes administer the programs for crippled children and those promoting maternal and child health.

Under the Work Projects Administration the Federal Government and localities worked together without any degree of state participation. Then there are direct Federal welfare programs, as, for example, those for veterans and the breakers of Federal laws. There are international programs, like those of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the International Refugee Organization, the International Labor Organization, etc., with which this government coöperates. There is the World Health Organization, in which the United States, unhappily, is not as yet a member. The irony of this reticence in joining the WHO, when we are so active in the United Nations, is the more striking in view of the fact that the United States participated in its predecessor organization, the League of Nations Health Organization, even though we would have nothing officially to do with the League.

While it might be possible in one way or another to explain the apparent vagaries of our present welfare setup, it surely is true that history—the particular situations prevailing when a given service was established—and inertia are largely responsible. So far as I know, there is no rational defense of the *status quo:* why Federal aid is available to help a needy widow of sixty-five, but not one of sixty-four; for a child whose father is incapacitated, but not for one whose father

is unemployed; for a needy man who is blind, but not for one who is paralyzed. Nevertheless, running through this crazy-quilt pattern are certain discernible threads—particular factors working for and against the extension of coöperation on an ever broadening basis.

This broadening of responsibility or, as, it might be termed, "centralization," is quite relative. At one extreme it may mean placing responsibility on the Federal Government, but it may also mean transferring to county authorities functions previously administered by towns and townships.

In the past, when difficulty was encountered in administering welfare service, the first thought, frequently, was to change the auspices under which it was administered. And when under the new auspices difficulties still persisted, even newer auspices would be found or, as often happened, the service would be returned to the *status quo ante*. Thus responsibility for poor relief, for example, was shifted from townships to counties, then back to the townships, then to the state and back again to the counties as administrative difficulties persisted. Of course, the coöperation of all levels was required, but by transferring responsibility *in toto* to one level and then to another, that fact was lost from sight.

One of the reasons for broadening the base of responsibility for social welfare needs has been the anomaly of excessive wealth existing side by side with dire need, but not available to meet it. We have had our Dearborns untaxed for relief and welfare needs in our Detroits; wealth concentrated in our Chicagos, unavailable to meet needs "downstate"; wealth centered in our New Yorks unavailable to meet needs in our South Carolinas and Mississippis; resources in the United States unavailable to meet needs in other countries.

The problem posed by the juxtaposition of specially advantaged and specially disadvantaged areas is, of course, heightened when the wealth in the one has been largely or even partially derived from the other. Closely related is the further issue as to how wealth can most equitably be made available to meet welfare needs. Tax and borrowing limitations upon certain units of government have made it necessary for other units to supply needed funds. The inability of certain units to levy taxes in accordance with ability to pay has often dictated the financing of welfare services by such units as can permit as much reliance as possible upon progressive, and as little as possible upon regressive, taxes. To say that a dollar is a dollar regardless of where

it comes from is not wholly accurate. The modal dollar raised by taxation at one level of government might be from a progressive income tax, while that at another level might be from a regressive sales tax. Or, one dollar may come from a poor area, another from a wealthy one.

When funds from a wider area are made available to meet welfare needs, the "donor" area normally expects the "receiving" area to meet specified terms. "With money goes control," we say; "he who pays the piper calls the tune." In fact, one level of government, or a voluntary organization, may actually make a financial contribution so as to have the right to call a tune or two. But care must be exercised lest this control deteriorate into tyranny. Terms upon which money is made available from one level to another should be jointly framed and mutually agreed upon. There should also be mutual agreement as to the methods by which the conditions of acceptance shall be carried out and as to the sanctions to be applied in case they are not. Relations between "donor" and "receiving" levels can be successful only as they are grounded in mutual trust and confidence. A constant mystery to me is how professional people who fight for the principle of "unrestricted money payments" to assistance recipients can feel so much suspicion and distrust regarding fellow professionals working at other levels.

Allied to the greater availability of funds over broader areas is the fact that by broadening the base of responsibility higher standards of service and more competent personnel are often assured. This is, however, not everywhere or always true. Not infrequently one finds certain states, for example, in which standards of personnel and service actually exceed Federal standards. But where it is true that standards prevailing over the wider areas exceed those of the lesser areas, this may be attributable only to the more adequate funds available, not to any mythical merit necessarily attaching to broader units as such.

A second factor which has served to broaden the base of responsibility for welfare needs has been the practice of imposing responsibility upon those who cause or help to cause the need. For example, the earliest instance I can find of what might be termed "state" participation in welfare in what is now the state of New York was the appropriation made by the Provincial Assembly in 1775 for relief of patriots in need because the advance of British troops had driven them from

their homes. Having helped to bring on the war, the assembly felt a responsibility for helping to meet need arising from it.

The same principle can perhaps be said to underlie Federal responsibility for health and welfare services to veterans. United States aid to China and Europe, where our own bombers and troops laid waste vast areas in the prosecution of a common cause, is in the same category. Closely related is the need which arises from common pursuit of a common cause. Illustrative of this would be needs in areas not directly devastated by American troops but arising from the same war against a common enemy, as for example, in the Ukraine or around Stalingrad even though our own troops never set foot in either area.

Still another factor which has contributed to the broadening of the base of welfare services has been the inefficiency of smaller units. The woefully inefficient administration of general assistance on a township basis (and in some states, even on a county basis, if it is not integrated with other assistance programs) calls loudly for broadening the base of responsibility. Among 569 county and large city units in eight states covered in a study sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation, 121 units reported only ten to twenty-five general assistance cases each, and in 133 units general assistance was given to fewer than ten cases. Surely these case loads are sufficiently inefficient from an administrative point of view that a broadening of the base is indicated.

The small number of mentally ill persons to be found in most cities and counties contributed to the establishment of state hospitals. Similarly, the small numbers of blind, or deaf, or tuberculous persons for whom special facilities provided on a county basis would have been unduly costly led to transferring responsibility for these groups to the state. The impracticability of fighting a wide-scale economic depression and its resulting unemployment on a state basis hastened national action in this area. The impossibility of restoring by national action alone the economic balance of the world has led to joint international action.

Speed of action, particularly in times of emergency, often calls for centralized control. In time of crisis one state legislature or one Congressional act can accomplish what might otherwise require action on the part of scores of counties, or of forty-eight state legislatures. There is, however, a sobering angle to this business of speed. Broad-scale action which can do the right thing quickly can also do the wrong thing quickly.

It is strange that critics who oppose centralization of social security measures on the ground that centralized services could be more easily taken over by some future Hitler do not similarly recommend breaking up our steel and oil industries or our railroads into small independent units lest they too fall into the clutches of a possible dictator. In both instances the course would appear to be to develop what is best calculated to serve the interests of the American people and then to guard these developments against prostitution by any group or power attempting to use them against the best interests of the people.

A second anomaly is that centralization is often relied upon, as one Federal official has said, "when the states cannot act or refuse to act." If state inaction in such instances is due to lack of support by public opinion, it is to be expected that Federal action will be criticized by the same public which blocks state action. In other words, the more centralized action is required because lower units of organization fail to act, the more it is likely to be criticized. One danger in building up resentment through centralized action, when public opinion is not prepared to accept it, is that even though this particular action may prove successful, it may generate so much hostility that the long-term effect will be to retard the development of centralization even along less controversial lines.

Two further factors which have served to broaden the base of responsibility have been the development of systems of communication and the improvement of administrative skills and techniques. Before the world was shrunk by telephone, telegraph, cable, and radio, man had little choice but to decentralize his administrative operations. Similarly, until something was known of how to administer far-flung operations, administrative tasks had to be cut back to more modest dimensions. Even today we lack personnel and skills efficiently to administer social services on too broad a basis. They must consequently be limited to such scope as can be effectively managed by the men and techniques which are available or can be developed.

These considerations, then, are part of the fabric of our local, state, national, and international social welfare services. But they are only part of that fabric.

Wealth in juxtaposition to need has not always been dedicated to that need; units of government actually causing a particular need have not always felt a responsibility to help meet it; more efficient

means of providing services, though known, have not always been applied. The extent to which these things have or have not been done may be said to be influenced by three factors: the degree of "interest" on the part of the unit concerned; the prevailing political and social philosophy; and religion. If the considerations previously discussed could be regarded as the warp of the fabric of our modern social services, these latter considerations might be thought of as the woof.

Reduced to their most basic elements, welfare services may be regarded as essential to self-preservation. Many courts have justified public relief as an expression of the police power of the state, a device to prevent disorders which the states have as much right to use as they have to call out the militia. This old role of welfare service as "riot insurance," originally limited to the local and state scene, grew during the depression to national proportions and is today of world size. It is easy to recall that Federal emergency relief was justified, in part, during the 1930s on the ground that need unmet or only partially met by the states would contribute to political and social unrest that might jeopardize our way of life. And what could be more plain than that a primary purpose of our present mountainous expenditures for aid to other countries is to preserve our own country and its political, social, and economic institutions?

What is it that gives localities, states, and nation an "interest" in social welfare programs? The mobility of people and improvement of means of transportation tend to broaden fields of local, state, and national interest. Research and scientific discovery which constantly reveal new implications of factors not previously suspected of affecting local, state, national, or international life also contribute to broadening their fields of interest. For example, modern science is now revealing that the inadequacy of our educational and health services has frightening implications for national defense. Local, state, and national interests are also broadened by political and economic crises as well as by lesser tensions, both within and outside any particular political unit.

Closely related to the preservation of interests is preventive action. If the state, for its own protection, must do something about delinquents and criminals, the legal argument runs, the state may take such precautionary steps as may be required to prevent larger expenditures in the future. Because it seemed cheaper to give preventive medical

care than later to hospitalize tuberculous patients, the early care was provided. Because the Marshall Plan seems cheaper than war, among other reasons, it was approved.

But it is not only self-interest which makes up the woof of the fabric of our network of welfare services. Social and political philosophy and religion also play their parts. As our social and political philosophy has become more humane, more concerned with the needs of people, and as our concept of what people we are responsible for has been broadened, the scope of our social welfare activities has also been expanded. Perhaps it is to this social and political philosophy that one must attribute the increasing interest in uniformity of treatment. Or, is this attributable to increasing recognition of the extent to which our national or local interests may be deleteriously affected if gross inequities are permitted to prevail in different areas? Whatever its source, the desire to have people in various sections of a state or of the country assured of at least a certain level of life surely has helped to broaden the base of responsibility for welfare services.

Religion, which has emphasized responsibility for meeting the needs of others, places no geographical limits on that responsibility. Religion has, therefore, been a major factor in making people conscious of their responsibility for needs beyond their own particular locality, state, and nation.

The degree of self, local, state, or national interest involved, social and political philosophy, and religion are then the woof; and maldistribution of resources and needs, the importance of speedy action, the responsibility of those causing need to meet it, are the warp of the fabric of our ever broadening social services. Exactly what the pattern of this fabric will or should be, cannot now be envisaged. The extent to which more or less of this or that element of the woof is mixed with this or that proportion of the various components of the warp will, of course, determine the ultimate pattern.

While certain forces are surely working in the direction of broadening the base of responsibility for social welfare measures, there are counter forces which just as certainly are working against it. First among these may be mentioned inertia and the self-interest of authorities who believe that their jobs and power will be jeopardized if the base of operations is broadened. This is particularly true of officials in the smallest political subdivisions, such as townships, which for reasons of efficiency have already been shorn of most of their responsi-

bilities and which, if they are now deprived of relief and welfare functions too, may have to go out of business altogether.

Another factor working in opposition is the widely held belief that "local people know best." Just what local people know best is not always made clear. However, it can hardly be claimed that local people necessarily know best how to combat infantile paralysis, or how best to develop in neglected children a sense of security and social responsibility, or how best to meet family needs arising from a lack of income. The frequency with which a qualified welfare worker is seen to know more about the needs and resources of a family which a local politician has known "all his life," repeatedly emphasizes the fact that knowledge about social welfare questions is not so much a matter of geography as of professional competence.

What local people do know best is what local people themselves want. This question of democratic control is, of course, one of majority control. This, in turn, raises the further question as to what majority shall rule on any given issue. If it were left to the people on a given street, a majority might vote to deny welfare service to a minority living in a particular block. If left to a larger unit, however, the decision might be quite different. A racial or national minority denied needed service by a majority within a county or state might, if the decision were left to a different constituency, be supplied with the required service. Leaving things to local knowledge also means, unfortunately, leaving them to local prejudices too.

The question as to what majority should rule on what issue is, of course, bound up with the problem of interest. While many questions may well be left to local groups, other issues are of such grave consequence that they should be decided by no less an authority than the people of the entire country. When one considers the political capital which an unfriendly foreign power might make of the fact (if it were true) that the people in some area of the United States were left to starve, or were denied essential assistance, one can readily see that it is not local people, but the people of the whole country who should act upon questions of major importance to them.

A further argument against broadening the base of responsibility is that this makes welfare services less flexible and less responsive to local needs. Bureaucracy is frequently associated only with highly centralized administration. This is a limited view of the problem, which is not one of size of the administrative unit, but one of the imaginative-

ness, creativity, and flexibility of administrators. In fact, bureaucracy is not a problem of government only, but of unimaginativeness and inflexibility which may be found also in voluntary agencies and even in private business.

The problem, then, is to introduce into large-scale administration that degree of flexibility which is in the public interest. Granted that the narrower the base of administration, the more it can be adapted to local conditions, this in itself presents the problem of perpetuating conditions which, in the larger public interest, at least, are indefensible. For how long should one justify miserly assistance payments, on the ground that community wage levels are low, before he stops trying to adapt assistance standards to local conditions? If broader scale programs do not take sufficient account of even defensible local differences, or of the special needs of particular individuals or groups, perhaps more and better public interpretation is required to help people find personal satisfaction in the realization that large masses of people over vast areas are getting the services they need rather than the more self-centered attention they previously received by inveigling intimately known local officials into humoring their petty, private requests.

Closely related is the claim that broad-scale administration necessarily results in a dead level of mediocrity. Again the answer would appear to be, in part, to help people to find satisfaction in the fact that other people everywhere are also assured at least the level of mediocrity afforded. However, means should be found wherever possible to permit particular groups or areas to provide for themselves without harm to these others as much as they can, over and above the level of service provided to other areas.

People, generally, are said to take greater personal interest in local than in broader scale affairs. This is to be expected to some extent, perhaps, inasmuch as a person in a small locality may be one of only a hundred persons to be heard from on a given issue. In larger areas, he might be only one of hundreds of thousands, or of scores of millions.

Finally, it is argued that the broader the base of welfare services, the more easily they may be taken over for venal political or other ulterior purposes. Areas occupied by the Germans found, for example, that while the Germans could easily get their clutches on highly centralized functions, they had great difficulty in taking over all the

agencies and services operated on a small district basis. While this is, of course, a sobering consideration, there would appear to be sufficient safeguards so that centralization, if found on other grounds to be desirable, should not for this reason alone be deferred.

Whatever a person's social and political philosophy may be, and however kindly disposed he may be, there is always some practical limitation—a shortage of money, if nothing else—upon how far he chooses to go in giving help to others. These restrictions vary, depending upon how seriously men take their social and religious beliefs, until, in the case of the truly religious man, practical limitations upon one's good intentions would be expected to assume least importance.

But even within limits which one may set for himself, or which a nation may set for itself, there is always the question of the most useful service to be rendered. If part of the Federal money now going to states—to say nothing of the possibility of new money—should go for special assistance, why not for general assistance? If for public assistance and child welfare, why not for education which, if improved, might reduce the need for relief and welfare expenditures? If for relief to Greece, Italy, and China, why not for Morocco or India or Ecuador?

Even though extending the base of responsibility quite naturally brings problems in its wake, it is also true that these are often made to appear worse than they really are. How frequently has the local administrator, when criticized for a given policy, defended himself, not by arguing the merits of the policy, but by explaining that "it is a state requirement"? There is also the common alibi "Washington says we must," or "Washington says we can't." In fact, when one state welfare official was asked what was the greatest value derived from Federal participation in public welfare administration, he replied: "To serve as a scapegoat, as a lever for getting gains we want but probably could not get if Washington didn't stand behind us." Practical as such support may, in fact, prove to be, the gains may be short-lived unless they are rooted in the conviction of state officials, state legislators, and public opinion. And surely we build up unnecessary resentment when an objective we want for reasons which in themselves can carry conviction are publicly defended only on the ground that "Washington requires it."

To capitalize on the advantages and guard against the dangers of broadening the base of social welfare services it is important to recall

that (1) many of the dangers of centralization are not necessarily inescapable; (2) that local, state, national, and international interests really are not opposed to one another; and (3) that wider application of democratic processes can improve the quality of social services even when these are administered on a far-reaching basis.

To help in avoiding, or at least in minimizing, apparent conflicts in local, state, national, and international interests, emphasis should constantly be placed upon the unity of their interests. States' rights should be emphasized less and states' duties, more. Less stress should be laid upon jurisdictions and more upon program and common objectives. Perhaps more fruitful Federal-state relations would result if Federal participation could be seen, not as interference by "the Feds" (as Federal agency representatives are sometimes called), but as help to states to assist them in fulfilling their obligations to their own people. Emphasis should be laid, not upon national sovereignty, but upon ways in which international coöperation can help nations meet their social welfare responsibilities; upon ways in which states can help localities, not upon the role of localities versus that of the state.

Unfortunately, some of our watchwords are often quoted, not in genuine defense of what the defenders purport to support, but as a cloak of respectability for opposition which is really premised on less respectable grounds. As one leader recently pointed out, "emphasis by certain interests upon states' rights is often nothing more than an attempt to rationalize the anarchy which prevents social changes to which those interests are opposed."

With increasing knowledge of the interrelatedness of all of life the less defensible become the attempts to compartmentalize it. The question is not to allot one function to one level of life and another to a second; it is not local *or* state responsibility, state *or* Federal, national *or* international. The real question is how best to encourage joint action in localities, states, and nations in solving the basic problems of life.

Unless international coöperation succeeds—at Lake Success, at Geneva, and at the farthest corner of the world—your sons may be snatched from that most local of all spots, your own fireside. Unless we and our neighbors help to breathe into it the breath of life perhaps the seemingly distant United Nations cannot live.

The same citizen who, face to face with his fellow citizens in the town meeting, helps to solve local problems, is also a citizen of the

world. Similarly, the most cosmopolitan of men, burdened with problems of world government, may find the lives of his own children wrecked if he fails to concern himself with the problems of his own neighborhood. No, the question is not what can best be done locally, what best by the state, what by the Federal Government, and what by international coöperation. The issue rather is how the strengths and resources of all of these may be brought to bear upon problems which are common to them all.

The process by which local, state, national, and international cooperation may best be facilitated is through genuine and unadulterated democracy. By this I do not mean the democracy of the club leader who said, "This organization is going to be democratic; I'll insist on it." Nor is it the democracy of the coach who, pointing, said: "I want three volunteers: you, you, and you." Neither is it that of the father who, when his son went away to school, told him he was free to join any fraternity he wanted but if he joined any other than that to which the father belonged he could expect no financial help from home.

The democracy with which we are concerned has two aspects: that which governs relationships among local, state, national, and international administrative personnel concerned with welfare services; and that pertaining to the relations of these administrators with taxpayers, citizens, and the general public.

Social workers do quite well in reminding themselves that their function in life is to serve people. But these same social workers seem often to forget that their professional colleagues are also people; that the general public which they also serve is made up of people; people who, like those more directly served, have a variety of strengths and weaknesses, prejudices, biases, hopes.

One of the strangest anomalies in all social work is the worker who with infinite patience helps the mother of an unmarried daughter to become reconciled to the birth of her daughter's child, but reacts with bitter hostility to a colleague who, because of conflicting social or ecomonic views, finds it difficult to "go along with" some aspect of agency policy. Workers at the operating level do sometimes feel that policies are "crammed down their throats" by personnel at the supervisory level. Yet workers who might be guilty of such cramming might also be among the first to condemn an authoritarian attitude toward a person served by the agency. The social work profession has gone

far in developing worker-client relations; it might well give more attention to worker-worker relations. These, surely, should include free communication between workers engaged at lower levels with those at higher levels and vice versa. Too often, workers eye with suspicion, distrust, and even contempt their colleagues at other levels.

Recently, a welfare officer told me that, in the past four years, the representative of the higher level of operations had never once talked with him without threatening the withdrawal of funds. A field supervisor recently said that he had not in several years, personally visited the personnel of the office under his supervision. How easy it is to forget that the personnel engaged at other levels of operation are people too. They want security, new experiences, want to be appreciated and to have a voice in decisions affecting their work. In staff relations between workers at different operating levels it is important, as a United States representative at Lake Success once said, "not only to be convincing but also to be convinced."

Truly democratic staff relations bring their own rewards. These, however, may be quite different from the satisfactions gained by the man of action by swifter and more direct means. The rewards, while quite real, are those of the teacher as opposed to those of the actor. In democratic personnel relations, we must help others to develop their own strengths, accepting for ourselves more the role of helpers and enablers than that of controllers and dominators.

Democracy takes time. Because this is so, almost no one, in times of emergency, can argue against undemocratic action. It is, therefore, essential that those who want democratic staff relations preserved, do all in their power to foresee difficulties in time to permit their solution by democratic means, thus reducing to a minimum the necessity for resorting to undemocratic means.

Important as they are, however, democratic staff relations will not alone assure democratically controlled social services. Means must be found by which the people whose interests are being served may have their say about these services. In part, this may be through our system of representative government by which the representatives of states (or of counties) approve the general plan by which the Federal Government, or the state government, may aid lesser units of government in the administration of welfare services. Particularly at the international level the importance of this type of participation is not now widely recognized. Instead, other governments are confronted with

a series of Congress-proclaimed terms—which they are theoretically free to take or to leave but which they actually have no choice but to take—without any real opportunity to help frame the terms of acceptance, or to define the sanctions to be applied if the terms are not carried out. Surely, a more democratic base than this can be found for foreign and international programs as well as for those within our own borders.

In addition to applying to the formulation of broad-scale social welfare policy the principle of representation, we must find further means by which the people in our towns, counties, states, and nations who are particularly concerned with welfare programs may bring their influence to bear upon legislative bodies and administrators at all these levels. Local welfare councils and citizens councils, state social welfare associations and state councils, all are means by which the people can say what welfare services they want.

At the national level there is, of course, the National Conference of Social Work, at which views can be aired, but that is not an action body. In addition, there are professional organizations, some of which are geared for action. There is, however, no adequate vehicle by which people concerned with action on national and international welfare questions can readily express their views. This being the case, perhaps it is now time to consider the formation of some sort of national social policy association through which people of good will can coöperate in getting national and international action on welfare issues deemed to be in the public interest, and appraise the welfare services they have, discuss what more they want, and work to bring that more into being. If this did nothing more than to link up the activities on national and international issues of existing local, state, and national action bodies, it would be an important step forward.

In attempting to discover the most effective relationship possible among units of organizations and agencies operating on different levels, social workers are not alone. Careful studies are in process or have recently been completed. One of these, by Harold Groves, Luther Gulick, and Mabel Newcomer, led to the conclusion that:

> Federal-State relations have been marked by coolness, distance, suspicion, and jealousy. . . . While much weight needs to be given to the values associated with autonomous local government, these have to be balanced against the advantages, such as reduced confusion and wider perspective,

which attend central control. *A priori* generalizations concerning centralization are of little use. . . . This approach to the problem calls for a high degree of genuine mutuality. State suspicion that intergovernmental cooperation will be mostly Federal domination must be dispelled. A program of full and genuine mutuality is entirely possible.[2]

This "genuine mutuality" social workers may help to find. In fact, because of their particular penchant for human relations they may lead the way in the search.

Unity of purpose on the part of localities, states, the nation, and the world, which, in view of the price already paid, should long since have been won, is not won but stands in constant danger of being lost. Only through the truly democratic coöperation of agencies working at all levels and by making our welfare services what the people of our localities, states, and nations really want them to be, can we pretend to serve the democracy which we hope may prevail the world around.

[2] United States Senate Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations, "Federal, State, and Local Government Fiscal Relations"; letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury transmitted in response to S. Res. 160. Document No. 69, 78th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 5.

TWO TYPES OF PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

By Reba E. Choate

THE ROAD WE HAVE TRAVELED SINCE 1863 when Samuel Gridley Howe and his associates helped to establish the Massachusetts Board of State Charities has been uneven and difficult, but it has led persistently in the direction of a more understanding and a more nearly adequate public response to the requirements of people. This early Massachusetts act, the first of its kind, which established a state board, required the secretary of the board to examine the returns of the several cities and towns in relation to the support of "paupers." The support available, in or out of almshouses, was uncertain, unsatisfactory, and abusively administered. Eighty-four years later, the Social Security Administration reports from returns regularly received in its office that expenditures in 1946–47 for public assistance in the United States exceeded $1,400,000,000. Whatever its shortcomings, public assistance of today, in contrast to pauper support of 1863, is administered with remarkable regard for the dignity and the rights of the individual. It has not been easy to move from local autonomy in financing and administration, with its attendant harshness, indifference, and failure to accept responsibility to a position of state and Federal leadership in the development of the public social services, although many gifted leaders during the past eighty-four years have seen with great clarity that this must be done. The difficulties involved in developing state leadership have not been due so much to a reluctance on the part of local communities to be relieved of the financial burden of welfare effort as to a reluctance on the part of the states to assume fully the responsibility for those who require care and protection from society.

The subject of critical analysis of two types of public welfare administration was highly controversial during the early years of the National Conference of Social Work. The *Proceedings* from 1882 through 1915 reflect frequent and heated discussions of the different aspects of state supervision versus state control of charities and cor-

rections. In these discussions, control and supervision were viewed as distinct functions to be sharply differentiated one from another. The supervisory boards of that day were responsible for inspection, reporting, criticism, and suggestions—functions which many held would, of necessity, disappear under a state board of control.

By 1913, thirty-eight states had central agencies, twenty-one of which were supervisory in nature; nine had state boards of control; six had dual systems—two boards in each—one supervisory and one administrative; and two states had singleheaded commissions, with no boards at all. It was generally recognized that the creation by the states of a central authority, whether supervisory or administrative in nature, was one of the great forward steps in the development of public welfare. Then as now, there was considerable variation in the programs grouped under the state central authorities, the assignment of duties which were supervisory or administrative in character, and the extent to which control was vested in the state agency.[1] Nevertheless, Congress in 1935 recognized the clear existence of the two types of public welfare administration through the condition in the public assistance titles of the Social Security Act that a state plan must "either provide for the establishment of a single state agency to administer the plan, or provide for the establishment or designation of a single state agency to supervise the administration of the plan."

What are the characteristics of a state-supervised program of public welfare? Of a state-administered program? Can we differentiate clearly between the two? An examination of state public assistance legislation reveals, not only variations from state to state, but variations among programs within the states. In those programs which are clearly state supervised, the controlling state legislation contains the following characteristics: The state act creates or designates a local agency which is authorized, subject to the policy, standards, and procedures adopted by the state agency (1) to accept applications; (2) to determine eligibility; (3) to select personnel; and (4) otherwise to manage the operation of the program within the county. The act also requires the local unit of government to participate financially in the program. Old age assistance legislation in fifteen states contains all these characteristics. In so far as old age assistance is concerned, this group of states[2]

1 S. P. Breckinridge. *Public Welfare Administration, Part II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

2 Alabama, California, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Utah, Virginia, Wisconsin.

would be classified by this standard as having state-supervised programs. Eighteen states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii have none or less than two of these characteristics and, therefore, occupy the opposite position of state-administered programs.[3] In these states, the local units operate as branch offices of the state department, whether or not the local units have the advice of citizen boards. Between these two groups are fourteen states representing considerable variation in the method of combining state control and local administration. Five of these fourteen states require local financial participation,[4] but otherwise they place responsibility for decisions in the state agency. Nine of the fourteen states have relieved the local units of financial participation, but six of these nine require the local units of government to administer the program.[5] There are still further variations among and within the states when aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, and other state welfare legislation are considered.

We have sometimes said that progress in public welfare may be charted by the legislative acts, state and Federal, under which the responsibility for financing the various programs has been removed from the counties, in whole or in part, and assumed by the state and Federal governments. By extending the base of financing to the larger units of government, we have been able to lessen the repressive poor law restrictions associated with local administration and local financing. If we look at financing alone, we find old age assistance in thirty states to be financed entirely from state and Federal funds; whereas only twenty-one states require local financial participation, varying in amounts from 5 to 25 percent. Fiscal ability, as well as distribution of income within a state, has been the important factor in determining the state's plan of financing.

The low per capita income states, with a few exceptions,[6] have relieved the counties of financial participation. Some of the high per

[3] Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, Ohio, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Alaska, District of Columbia, Hawaii. The Florida Act creates district offices and boards for administrative purposes. Tennessee requires local financial participation from designated funds rebated from state to county. In Missouri, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Louisiana, there are local advisory boards, but personnel is selected by the state agency, and the local offices operate very much as branch offices of the state agency.

[4] Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, Wyoming.

[5] Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, West Virginia.

[6] Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia, Virginia.

capita income states—Delaware, Connecticut, Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Ohio, Washington, and Pennsylvania—have done likewise. As one examines the programs in the various states, there is no reason to believe that the requirement of financial participation by the local units insures more careful and economical administration. Georgia, with a requirement of 5 percent local financial participation, cannot be said to have more efficient administration than Mississippi or Florida, which require none. California and New York, which require local financial participation, are not noticeably more effective than Washington and Michigan, which do not. It is the wealthier states, whether the programs are state administered or state supervised, which on the whole have higher average payments and lower recipient rates than do the states occupying less favored fiscal positions. In the latter, the requirement of local funds to initiate the programs, or the matching process, has often restricted the amount of assistance and the quality of service.

Liberal or restrictive conditions of eligibility seem to have no relationship to the legislative requirement of state supervision or state administration of public welfare; nor does effectiveness in administration. The Bureau of Public Assistance reports that in September, 1946, in the determination of need, only twelve state agencies gave adequate instructions to the localities for the uniform inclusion of all items, such as food, clothing, and shelter. In only nine of these agencies were the instructions uniformly followed by local staff. In nineteen state agencies, the items to be considered in determining the extent of need were left to the local agencies; the state agencies provided no more than suggestions or recommendations as to what items should be included.[7] A similar situation exists in relation to other standards important in public welfare. Adequate leadership from the state agency, whether under a state-administered or a state-supervised program, can be achieved and maintained only through the employment of a sufficient and diversified staff of professional workers.

As we study programs of public welfare in the different states, we become aware of variations in effectiveness. From what sources do these differences arise? The elements of public welfare administration are well known: we know the role of fact-finding, research, and

[7] Federal Security Agency, *Annual Report, Section One, Social Security Administration, 1947* (Washington, D.C., 1947), p. 117.

planning, the process and importance of policy formulation, the development and utilization of standards, careful selection and development of personnel, coördination of effort, citizen participation and interpretation, the fine points of financing and budgeting. We know also that results are achieved only as we direct personnel, funds, standards, or other materials unerringly to the objectives of our program. Why, then, do we have so much difficulty in maintaining effective programs? Are we uncertain about our objectives? Or are our personnel and methods inadequate to the situations with which we deal? Those states which have advanced most steadily in the development of the public social services, and have received the approval and support of the citizenry of the state in so doing, are those which have maintained over a period of years board and executive leadership of high quality. There is every reason to believe that the knowledge and ability of the administrator and of the members of the state board are of the greatest importance in maintaining personnel and in maintaining both stability and flexibility in program administration. In twenty-seven states the administrator is appointed by the governor and serves at his pleasure. In three states there is no board; in one state, executive functions are vested in a three-member salaried board. In some of these states the citizenry is sufficiently informed, interested, and active to assure the appointment and reappointment of capable administrators to the state departments of public welfare; in other states, with each new governor there is a new administrator for the department of public welfare, and with each new administrator often come uncertainties, delays, and sometimes ineptness, unnecessary restrictions, and loss of objectives. Too often the one contribution of the administrator, although important, is of a negative nature—prevention of any action by the department which might in any way embarrass the administration. Under such circumstances, there flows from the administrator's office little or no leadership to the agency, little interpretation to other state officials, to the legislature, or to the public as to the status of the programs. The annual or biennial reports may be descriptive of work performed, but carry few recommendations for improvement in service. Governmental programs of the importance of education, health, or welfare require continuity of interest and effort in regard to those objectives which have been established as public policy. Effectiveness in administration is achieved only as those who occupy positions of leadership in the

state agencies bring to their assignments a genuine acceptance of social objectives, and the knowledge and capacity necessary to discharge their responsibilities.

There are twenty-four states in which the administrator is appointed by a state board, but not all these state agencies maintain continuity of board leadership through overlapping terms of office. In only one state is the administrator selected under civil service. Wherever we find able leadership emanating from the state administrator, and the agency's board, we also find in the state agency other factors necessary for effectiveness: a force of professional workers of sufficient size and quality whose abilities are well organized and well utilized to give substance to the various functions of the agency. Here we find in process research and special studies, the development and wise use of standards, the use of consultants, conviction about staff development, a steady upbuilding of the personnel in each local office, a nurturing of local-state relationships, a nurturing of citizen understanding of the objectives and also of the limitations of the programs administered. There is an absence of conflict and resistance between local and state agencies, as the leaders in each combine their best efforts to establish and maintain services and assistance.

In the majority of states, however, the departments of public welfare have insufficient professional personnel to give the necessary administrative direction and supervision. Continuous attention to staff development, or the preparation of substantive material upon which sound policy, standards, and effective procedures may be based, is nonexistent in many state agencies. I think each of us might ask how the professional personnel in our state department of public welfare compares in size and quality with the professional personnel in the state office of education or in the state department of public health. Too often we see one, two, or three professional workers paralyzed into ineffectiveness by unmanageable work assignments. Is it any wonder that there are frequent resignations among those who fill these positions? If the state agency is to give leadership in the development and administration of a comprehensive public welfare service, there must be an extension and better use of professional personnel. The objectives of the programs cannot be fulfilled without increased professional personnel on the state agency staff and in the local offices.

The Social Security Administration recommends in its 1947 Report,

the extension of federal financial participation to include all welfare services administered by the staff of the public welfare agency to help people, whether needy or not, to become self-supporting, to make fuller use of community resources, or to solve individual problems in family or community adjustments. Expansion of child welfare services and the development of family and adult welfare services are needed to enable people to meet the demands of our highly complex and dynamic society. Comprehensive welfare services should be available in all communities. Realization of this objective, however, is dependent not only on the availability of federal financial help, but also on the training of additional personnel properly equipped to help people deal with problems as they arise.[8]

There is every reason to believe that the local communities and the local departments of public welfare desire and will support this development. A large proportion of the tax dollar of the average citizen finds its way into the state and Federal treasuries. The average citizen, despite the activities of taxpayer leagues, desires and expects an extension and improvement in governmental services. It is in the local communities that the public and the staff have had first-hand experience with the whole gamut of inadequacies, and through associations of local administrators and membership in state conferences and other organizations have attempted to support or to initiate improvements. The aspirations of the general public in relation to education, health, and public welfare are becoming increasingly clear. It is interesting to observe that wherever state governments show an unwillingness or inability to deal with social and economic matters, citizens turn in increasing numbers to their representatives in Congress and to other Federal officials for understanding and leadership.

The real problems in public welfare are no longer concerned, it seems to me, with questions of state supervision or state administration, but with adequate financing, sufficient professional personnel in the state agency to give leadership, direction, and supervision, and sufficient personnel in the local offices to provide promptly and adequately the financial assistance and professional services required in each community—all of which are achieved only as we have established the channels for citizen understanding, approval, and participation. Progress in public welfare is uneven, for of necessity it rests upon many efforts: scholarship through research in agencies, founda-

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

tions, and in the graduate and professional schools will continue its contribution in the form of improved standards and methods; the professions must demonstrate sustained and improved competency in practice; and the public, as it has opportunity to voice its requirements and aspirations and to participate in developments, will with greater clearness indicate its approval and support of those programs which it wishes maintained as governmental services.

MARSHALING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL LEGISLATION

By A. David Bouterse

IN ITS OBVIOUS MEANING the topic under discussion is relatively limited. It appears to isolate a single objective of the community organization process and to imply that techniques and methods have been developed which may properly be subjected to separate review.

It is unquestionably true that the need for social legislation has in the past fifteen years posed major problems for organized social work. Whether the profession has made a significant contribution to the solution of the problems or whether it has simply been the beneficiary of lessons taught by others is less clear. In either case, social work does present a picture of expanding effort and more mature judgment in promoting the adoption of social legislation. Despite its traditional lack of skill in politics social work has made progress in developing, analyzing, and evaluating the legislative process.

Literature on community organization is permeated with the implicit idea that social action, particularly the promotion of legislation, is a process of supersalesmanship by which a few farsighted persons bring an ever increasing group of laymen or "citizens" into the charmed circle of those who work directly for the public welfare. In the past, many articles have pictured the social worker in the role of the manipulator of the prestige and influence of powerful people and organizations for the purpose of gaining specific objectives.

The authors of the literature would vehemently deny, of course, that they intended to expand upon or to formalize a theory of community organization that was essentially nondemocratic in content. The explicit body of the literature does give prominent emphasis to "citizen participation." Indeed, community organization has been defined as the effort to "assist groups in attaining unity of purpose and action"; [1] or, stated differently, that community organization is the practical application of the democratic process in the modern social scene.

[1] Wayne McMillen, "Community Organization in Social Work," in *Social Work Year Book 1947*, ed. Russell H. Kurtz (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947), p. 110.

It is nevertheless essentially fair to observe that discussions of techniques as contrasted with theory seem usually to assume the presence of an elite few who are responsible for the planning and direction of social action programs. One author may describe how the central promotional group can influence other organizations to assume responsibility for the salesmanship needed on a given piece of legislation. Another writer may present helpful hints on how the social worker can interpret his program and educate the public to an acceptance of the idea he is trying to advance. Still another carefully guides his readers through the pitfalls of using prominent laymen to act as the "front men" for the planners.

There is nothing wrong with the literature or the ideas, so far as they go. In fact, this author is indebted to the writers for invaluable guidance in the actual direction of social action programs. There is something wrong, however, in the fact that our thinking seems to be conditioned by the supposition that "the public" is a unit entirely apart from social work, a force to be "marshaled," used, and kept in its proper place. The public certainly needs and is entitled to be given the facts concerning social welfare requirements, but it also is entitled to be heard and to be made a part of the social planning process.

Too few writers have sufficiently emphasized the practical fact that the greatest element in social action is the process of defining the objective. It is in this process that we too frequently suffer from lack of public participation. The marshaling of public support seems usually to begin and to end in the legislative process alone. We are seldom brave enough—or thorough enough in our methods—to bring public representation into planning and research.

It may be offered as a rebuttal to this point that democratic idealism is adequately served when truly representative support for a particular bill is secured when the matter is before legislative committees. Unfortunately, by the time a bill is before a legislative committee it is often much too late to influence action. Unless support is secured and put to active use long before the legislative climax the whole effort is apt to fail. It is my contention, therefore, that the process of marshaling public support must begin when legislation is being planned.

The fact is, however, that legislation is usually written and the specific target irrevocably established before public participation is

considered at all. The elite supersalesmen of social work go forth to manipulate important citizens and influential organizations into getting a bill passed without having learned in advance whether any sizable segment of the public is in agreement with the principles on which it is based. The fact that so many clever ideas have been advanced to help these supersalesmen get their job done is proof of this contention. Time and again small groups of social workers have mapped strategy for getting bills through state legislatures or through Congress with little or no thought being given to public opinion. There is often impatient rejection of the idea that the first and primary job in legislative promotion is to bring voting citizens to an acceptance of the principles on which specific social legislation is based.

At this stage of the discussion someone is probably irritated by the thought that this point is a theoretical straw man, that no one ever quarrels with the need for public education in social work principles nor with the thought that such public education is a primary task of all social workers. However, the point is more than theoretical. It is a very real and practical obstacle to marshaling public support. The first battle in a legislative skirmish is fought when the legislation is in its planning stages, and unless representative interests are included in the process the legislation is either doomed to defeat or destined to be short-lived in effectiveness.

The temptation to ignore this fact is real. It is easy to write a bill to correct obvious evils in administrative practices or to launch a needed welfare program. It is relatively easy, also, to gain the support of social work personnel and a few professional liberals for social legislation. State welfare conferences are famous for passing hastily devised resolutions on subjects which have been studied by small committees and then submitted to the membership for brief floor discussions. Such resolutions are frequently released to the press and result in news sensations of twenty-four hours' duration. They are sometimes followed by the preparation of legislation. The supersalesmanship job then begins. Letters are sent to senators and representatives, social workers are urged to present the issue to various groups of laymen, efforts are made to secure "respectable" backing before legislative committees.

There is nothing wrong with these practices in themselves; they are simply not placed in the proper perspective.

In a recent survey of the procedures used by social action organiza-

tions in seventeen states it was learned that only a few follow a genuinely democratic method of arriving at legislative objectives. Even among those who do, the process is seldom extended beyond the limits of the professional social work group.

If planning is to be effective it must involve the broad use of representative and informed citizens. If public support is to be marshaled for social legislation the work must be done before, not after, the legislative target is established.

The question may be properly asked, how is it possible to know whether people understand and are willing to support a given measure until it is presented to them? One answer lies in a real rather than a superficial participation of citizens in the whole social work operation. If American social work made a genuine effort to develop widespread citizen participation in the nonprofessional aspects of its job there is every reason to believe that the results would be extraordinary. The apathy of social workers toward citizen participation, particularly in the public welfare field, is so deep seated, however, that a major revolution will be necessary to jar them from their traditional patterns. For example, a bill was presented to the 1947 session of the Ohio legislature to repeal a measure making it possible to establish citizen advisory boards for each local old age assistance office. In Ohio the old age assistance program is administered by the state, and local offices are merely branches of the central administration. At the central office no advisory board or citizens' committees function. For some years, however, local administrators were permitted to organize such boards. The provision had been so long ignored, however, that the state welfare director requested its repeal. No thought was apparently given to reviving the practice of using citizens' advice and counsel.

Another case illustrates the same weakness in current public welfare practices. A member of a local welfare advisory board recently stated publicly that the welfare director had called the board together only once in eighteen months, and then the meeting produced merely a dull recital of annual statistics.

The fact seems clear that most social workers look upon lay participation in their programs as either a necessary evil or only a means of interpreting executive action to the public. The groans of Red Cross workers during the war over the headaches of Gray Lady programs must have reached the heavens. The number of casework agency

boards that have hastily been called into session—perhaps for the first time in months—to receive an explanation of a dramatically unsuccessful plan must reach sizable proportions. And the number of public programs with no citizen participation at all probably outnumber all others by ten to one.

Great lip service is paid to the need for public education and participation by laymen in social work programs, but precious little practical application is made of these principles. Where it is attempted it too often involves the use of small groups of especially interested persons and never reaches representative proportions.

The point cannot be too often reiterated, therefore, that public support for social legislation is, in the first instance, built by lay participation in routine programs; in the second place, and of far greater importance, such support is built by having adequate representation in the legislative planning process.

This major point having been made, solving the practical problem of marshaling broad public support still remains a difficult and challenging task. Citizen participation in the administrative, interpretative, and planning processes of social work will at best be limited to a relatively small group (though by no means as small as most social workers seem to assume). Mass support for social legislation outside the ranks of those with a special and direct interest in the problem is often necessary.

Two factors seem to bear upon the task of developing techniques for gaining such mass support. First, methods will vary with the availability of personnel and organization for leadership. Secondly, the nature and content of a specific legislative proposal will directly affect the pattern of marshaling public support.

In connection with the first factor the increasing interest in state social planning organizations with paid leadership is a significant development. The difficulty of organizing successful social action programs without paid leadership is known by all who have attempted it. The legislative process is complicated and time consuming. Someone has aptly said that "democracy cannot operate in a hurry." Long-range planning and effort are required to develop and secure the passage of social legislation, and such planning is difficult without full-time leadership.

New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin have for many years operated programs of state planning and social action with full-time paid

staffs. In recent years other states have adopted similar plans. Ohio is now concluding an experimental period of citizen participation in a thirty-five-year-old program of state-wide planning and is proceeding with the development of a citizens' council of major proportions. Georgia, several years ago, adopted a plan of tax-supported social planning. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Michigan, and Missouri finance effective state-wide citizens' organizations for social welfare.

There is a growing list of state welfare conferences that employ full-time secretaries and have progressed from strictly forum-type programs to those which include social action and legislative promotion. While most of these conferences are developed by and for paid social work personnel, their chances of marshaling public support for social legislation are materially enhanced by the employment of full-time leaders.

Communities and states with separate citizens' organizations assuming major responsibility for the promotion of social legislation are obviously in a more favorable position to obtain public support for their objectives than are those without such resources. Where no central organization has been established, social workers must use existing professional or informal groups for social action purposes. It is by no means impossible under these circumstances to marshal broad public support for legislation, but leadership must usually come through voluntary effort. Whether the program is led by volunteers or by paid personnel, however, it is important that organization be strong. Public support cannot be gained by haphazard, poorly planned efforts.

The second general factor, namely, the content of the specific legislative proposal, is probably of no less practical importance than organization and leadership. It is obvious that bills dealing directly with human problems will be more dramatic and interesting to the public than those relating to technical matters, and public support will be easier to secure. The experience of the Ohio Citizens' Council in 1947 illustrates this point.

Among the bills sponsored by the Ohio council was one dealing with a state utilities excise tax. The measure was an important one. Its effect was to release millions of dollars of earmarked and unused general relief money for use by local governments in meeting other welfare problems. The appeal of this bill to the general public was limited because of its technical nature. The major effort was there-

fore placed on gaining selected rather than general public support. Government leaders, tax authorities, certain businessmen, and the utilities lobby were consulted. Eventually, the state tax commissioner accepted responsibility and sponsored the bill himself, and the public as a whole was scarcely aware of the problem.

Another measure originating in 1947 was aimed at permitting the state to pay half the cost of local child welfare service programs. The state of Ohio now contributes nothing for this type of care. In this case, the issue involved a great deal of human interest. Organizations which were lukewarm toward the tax bill were willing to give wholehearted support in the cause of child welfare. The approach to the public, therefore, was broader and less inclusive of the technical aspects of the problem than in the case of the tax bill.

Marshaling public support at the national level will require similar flexibility. Promoting public support for a national mental health act will require techniques which differ from a project involving a Federal department of welfare. The differences involve more than the selection of the particular segment of the public that is apt to have the greatest influence in the particular case. They involve the presentation to the public of varying degrees of technical material, greater or less dependence upon emotional interest, and recognition of the bias affecting the average American citizen on matters of social policy.

The variables of, first, available organization and leadership and, second, the content and appeal of particular legislation will produce countless patterns of operation in marshaling public support. Mature and imaginative leadership is always required to bring about the desired result. Certain generalizations are possible, however, concerning tactics and principles of operation under the conditions that have been described.

First, it is necessary in every case to prove conclusively that legislation is required to meet the particular issue under consideration. There is a strong tendency among both lay and professional leaders greatly to overestimate the efficacy of legislation. "There ought to be a law" is a favorite American phrase. The number of bills submitted each year in the United States reaches amazing proportions. The appeals for public support of legislation are almost as numerous. The average citizen is inclined to shrug his shoulders and avoid responsibility for understanding many of the issues. The more discriminating citizen is sometimes equally confused. He is told that a certain bill

will solve a specific problem, and later he receives a weak excuse as to why it has not done so.

The people whose support is being solicited must be shown that a demonstrated need can be met only by the proposed legislation. Guesswork as to whether legislation is essential should be eliminated in the planning stages. If a proposed bill is needed and it is the only solution to a difficult problem, it is perfectly safe and ethical to paint a gloomy picture of the results of failure and a rosy outline of the future under the proposed legislation.

A second valuable course of action is to convince the particular group whose support is sought that it has a direct stake in the matter. This stake may be the fact that the group is on record in support of the principles for which the bill stands. It may be the fact that the problem bears directly on the group itself, or it may be the factor of ultimate financial saving in the payment of taxes.

There is considerable doubt that many people actively support social or any other kind of legislation unless their interest in the matter is direct. Even if this interest is no more than the enhancement of one's reputation for being a good, moral citizen and supporting the cause of justice and right it has a bearing on our problem. Support for social legislation is not often diminished by a subtle play on the moral obligation of a group to support a particular principle or measure.

A third factor of importance is the need to secure the interest and active participation of community leaders. This point needs little emphasis. Too frequently, in fact, social workers suppose that community leaders alone can swing a legislative drive. Most legislators are keenly aware of the fact that the testimony of a club president or a union leader does not always mean that the membership he purports to represent really understands and approves the measure under consideration.

Emphasis should be placed on the fact that the leaders of organized groups can serve to secure mass public support for social legislation. If these leaders were included in the planning process, of course, their prior interest in the matter will likely already have made them effective instruments for gaining public support. A speech before a women's club will be relatively unproductive unless it is simply one step in a broad plan to present legislative issues carefully to the members of the organization and to use them directly in the legislative

promotion scheme. However, no social action chairman can assume responsibility for guiding a multitude of such groups through each step of the legislative process, and great dependence must be placed on each organization's leadership.

A fourth factor is the need to meet opposition fairly and to interpret quickly to public supporters the need for change or compromise. The wastebaskets of legislators are full of bills sponsored by social workers who did not know when to yield a point. No matter how carefully the planning job may be engineered, few bills will be presented for legislative or Congressional debate in the form in which the original drafters submitted them. Along the legislative road changes are sure to be demanded. It is frequently impossible to refer proposed changes to a representative group of citizens for study before decisions must be reached. The leadership of social action bodies must be prepared to make these decisions themselves. If public support is to be retained as well as marshaled, however, a careful effort must be made to keep supporters informed of the details of such compromises and changes. A suspicion that the leadership may engineer undercover deals may be fatal to a program of public support.

Even if a particular bill has been proved to be essential, in meeting a demonstrated need it is usually better in the face of determined opposition to accept a partial solution than none at all. Defeats of this nature are seldom fatal. If public support has been carefully nurtured it will remain available for another attempt to gain the whole objective at the next Congressional or legislative session.

In concluding this discussion two points are worthy of restatement and emphasis:

1. Marshaling public support for social legislation is not a distinct and separate function in the community organization process. It is inseparable in theory and in method from the total social work job.

2. Methods of social action in promoting legislation may vary with each situation, but the chief criterion of good principle is the real and effective use of citizens in the total operation. Democracy should and must be practiced in marshaling public support for social legislation.

WHAT IS THE JOB OF THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION WORKER?

By Arthur Dunham

WE COME CLOSE to the heart of community organization when we consider the job of the community organization worker, for, "No program is better than the persons who administer it." [1]

My discussion is based on three admittedly controversial assumptions:

1. By community organization for social welfare I mean the process of bringing about and maintaining adjustment between social welfare needs and social welfare resources in a geographical area or a functional field. Resources include, not only agencies and organizations, but also personnel, physical equipment, finances, laws, leadership, public understanding, good will, and participation. Community organization is a dynamic, pervasive, far-reaching process.

2. Community organization includes, among other things, four specialized aspects about which there is frequently difference of opinion: (*a*) fact-finding, which is closely related to "programming" and to bringing about adjustment between needs and resources; (*b*) public relations and interpretation; (*c*) fund-raising for individual agencies as well as joint financing; (*d*) social action in so far as it relates to social welfare objectives.

3. Community organization is a process that may be conducted on any geographical level—neighborhood, community, state, national, international—or between any geographical levels. Incidentally, if we have this point of view we shall probably prefer the term "community organization worker" to "community organizer," which suggests some kind of local manipulator or wirepuller.

Starting from this base, I shall discuss briefly six aspects of the job of the community organization worker:

1. *The functions of the community organization worker.*—Those of us who are familiar with the thoughtful and stimulating papers

[1] "We Want an Executive" (New York: Community Chests and Councils, 1947), title page inscription.

on community organization given by the late Kenneth L. M. Pray and by Wilber Newstetter at the 1947 National Conference of Social Work must be deeply appreciative of the contributions which these men have made to our thinking. Wilber Newstetter suggested [2] that there are three major aspects of community organization: education and promotion; interagency administration; and social intergroup work. Without in any way minimizing the importance of the phenomena of intergroup work, I should like to suggest a somewhat different way of looking at community organization as a whole. I think we need to answer the question, What are the functions of community organization agencies and workers? In the committee report on "The Field of Community Organization" presented by Robert P. Lane in 1939, it was suggested that there are six "secondary objectives" of community organization.[3] I believe that these secondary objectives are really the functions, the tasks, the jobs to be done, by community organization agencies and workers. Briefly, these are: (1) fact-finding—laying an adequate factual foundation for sound planning and action; (2) program development; (3) establishment and improvement of standards; (4) coördination and facilitation of intergroup relationships; (5) education and public relations; and (6) enlistment of adequate public support and participation.

If this statement is correct, every agency and every worker in community organization is concerned more or less continuously with performing one or more of these functions. Obviously, community organization includes a wide range of diverse activities and methods. In this respect, community organization is unlike casework or social group work, where there is more intensive concentration on a narrower range of more nearly similar activities. The caseworker, for example, is always concerned with helping a family or a person to solve certain individual problems; the community organization worker may be engaged in activities as diverse as operating a social service exchange, planning and carrying out a survey, directing a community chest campaign, or promoting a bill to reorganize the state's public welfare system.

2. *What types of job do community organization workers hold?*—It follows that there are many types of community organization job,

[2] Wilber I. Newstetter, "The Social Intergroup Process," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 205–17.
[3] Robert P. Lane, "The Field of Community Organization," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work 1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 500.

and that these are far more varied and dissimilar than the various types of specialized casework and social group work jobs. Let us limit ourselves, however, to jobs which are concerned primarily with community organization and omit the jobs of executives of client-service agencies, child welfare and public welfare workers, settlement workers, etc., where there may be a community organization component in the job, even though it is concerned primarily with administration, casework, or social group work.

Community Chests and Councils has made an invaluable job analysis study of positions in community chests and welfare councils. On the basis of this study they have drawn up job specifications for seventeen types of job in chests and councils. Three of these, accountant, comptroller, and office manager, are definitely not social work positions. The other fourteen are as follows:

Executive secretary, chest and council
Executive secretary, chest
Executive secretary, council
Budget secretary
Campaign director
Campaign division secretary
Secretary, council division
Secretary, information and referral service
Labor representative
Neighborhood council secretary
Publicity director
Research director
Social service exchange secretary
Director, volunteer service bureau

I suggest that at least three of the jobs—publicity director, research director, and neighborhood council secretary (or neighborhood worker, as it might be called)—may be found in other types of community organization agency, so these may be considered generic types of community organization job rather than chest-council specializations.

I believe that we can also identify at least nine other types of community organization job, all of which are outside the chest-council field:

a) The executive of a state-wide agency for health and welfare planning carries on general planning and, usually, promotion of legislation on a state-wide basis, through such organizations as a state-

wide citizens' welfare association or a state conference of social work which conducts a year-round action program in addition to the traditional conference program.

b) The executive of a program promotional agency in a specialized field is concerned with development and promotion of a social welfare program and improvement of standards. Examples would include a local housing or tuberculosis association; a state society for mental hygiene, crippled children and adults, or the blind; and most national agencies, such as those in family service, child welfare, health, recreation, etc. This would include also certain positions in Federal agencies, such as the Social Security Administration in the Federal Security Agency.

c) The executive of a national agency for coördination and broad health and welfare planning carries on health and welfare planning and coördination in the field of social welfare as a whole or in a broad area, such as health, youth service, casework, etc. The National Social Welfare Assembly and its divisions, the National Health Council, and the national professional associations are examples of such agencies.

d) The financial secretary is in charge of, or primarily concerned with, fund-raising for a local, state, national, or international agency. The job sometimes involves direction of a highly organized financial campaign.

e) The conference executive carries on the direction of a national, state, or local social welfare conference whose primary function is the holding of an annual conference or convention and closely related activities. There are relatively few of these jobs; examples are afforded by the National Conference of Social Work and the state conferences in New York and Pennsylvania.

f) The community organization field representative may be concerned with either administration or community organization or both. He carries on field service for a national or state agency where the contacts are primarily consultative, coöperative, and liaison in nature rather than authoritative, administrative, or procedural. The job of field representative for the Family Service Association of America, which is essentially a federation of local units, would be an example. Obviously, many public welfare field representative jobs are primarily administrative in nature and would not be included as community organization jobs.

g) The legislative representative analyzes, interprets, and promotes legislation for a state-wide or national voluntary agency.

h) The teacher of community organization instructs in a school for the professional education of social workers. The teacher is, of course, primarily an educator, but he is so intimately related to the training of community organization workers, and there is so much movement back and forth between teachers and practitioners, that it seems reasonable to include his job in this analysis.

If we take into account both these classifications, several comments may be made. In the first place, both classifications cover only the executive or primary jobs. In practice, one would find in many community organization agencies examples of such gradations as executive, subexecutive, senior practitioner, and junior practitioner.

In the second place, a careful examination of community organization jobs would show that the job of the community organization worker—even that of the senior or junior practitioner—resembles the job of an executive or subexecutive, in terms of its content and types of activity, more closely than it resembles the job of the casework or social group work practitioner. If this is true, it has important implications for the training, selection, and supervision of community organization workers.

In the third place, these classifications obviously contain some borderline jobs which require further study to determine whether or not they are primarily social work jobs, whether the persons who hold them should be primarily social workers, with community organization training, or whether we should draw these staff members mainly or largely from related professional or vocational fields, such as social research, public relations, fund-raising, and accountancy. The particular jobs which seem to lie in this borderline area are: budget secretary, campaign director, campaign division secretary, publicity director, research director, and financial secretary.

In the fourth place, certain jobs clearly require knowledge of specialized functional fields as well as knowledge of, and skill in, community organization. Examples would be the secretary of the health division of a community welfare council and the executive or staff member of a national promotional agency for family service or mental hygiene.

In the fifth place, from the standpoint of job content and the skills

involved, we can distinguish nine major areas of job specialization:

a) Health and welfare planning, carried on in councils and in certain state-wide and national agencies, and having many ramifications
b) Community chest operation: joint financing
c) Fund-raising other than in community chests
d) Social service exchange administration
e) Promotion of programs in specialized fields
f) Research
g) Public relations
h) Legislative analysis and promotion
i) Teaching of community organization

3. *The community organization worker.*—An interesting study of the education and experience of the members of the Association for the Study of Community Organization who have jobs that are primarily concerned with community organization is being made by Robert Hiller, a graduate student at the Institute of Social Work of the University of Michigan. Mr. Hiller has analyzed 266 replies from members of the Association for the Study of Community Organization. A preliminary review indicates that most of their jobs, including subordinate grades, would fall pretty clearly under those listed in the foregoing classifications.

Mr. Hiller's study [4] will be the best picture we have yet had of the genus community organization worker. A few of the preliminary findings, which I quote with Mr. Hiller's permission, are: (1) of the 266 workers, 73 percent are men, 27 percent are women; (2) the average age of the whole group is 43.4 years; (3) 38 percent have Master's degrees in social work (44 percent of the men and 29 percent of the women); of the 175 workers under forty-five years of age, 52 percent have Master's degrees in social work; (4) the 266 workers have held a total of 1,520 jobs, or an average of about 5.7 jobs per worker, of which 83 percent have been in social work and 49.8 percent in community organization.

4. *The role of the community organization worker.*—Kenneth Pray eloquently maintained the thesis that the community organiza-

[4] It is expected that when the study is completed, either the entire report or an abstract of it will be made available in published form. Those who are interested in this possibility may communicate with the author of this paper at the Institute of Social Work of the University of Michigan, 60 Farnsworth Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

tion worker is essentially an "enabler" and not a manipulator.[5] I think Kenneth Pray gave us insight into a profound philosophical truth. I suggest that if we follow any community organization job back into its ultimate nature and reason for being, we shall always find that the community organization worker is the agent of some group or aggregation of people—whether it be the voters of the United States or the supporters of the local community chest—in carrying into effect a program which these people support either by contributions, by active assent, or by acquiescence. Certainly, it is in harmony also with the fundamental ideas of democracy that the administrative agent or the practitioner enables the group to achieve its desires rather than commands or manipulates the group.

Thus far I think we may go safely, but can we not go on from this point, and must we not also be on guard against oversimplifying the role of the community organization worker? If a community or a constituency group is substantially united in its thinking, then there is perhaps a rather simple situation in which the community organization worker acts as the agent of the constituency in helping it to attain its objectives. But is it not often true that the constituency group, and even the governing board, is not substantially united in its thinking and does not know what it wants to do except in very general terms? For example, a group of agencies and citizens may form a community welfare council. They know that they want to improve the well-being of the community through better teamwork and joint planning and action. But as to how they should attain this result, or what should be their immediate objectives, they may have very little idea. Should they give priority or major emphasis to promoting a recreation survey, seeking a reorganization of the municipal department of public welfare, trying to raise standards among the child caring organizations, or interpreting social work to organized labor?

It seems to me that the role of the community organization worker must often be that of creative leadership. Ordway Tead defines leadership as "the activity of influencing people to coöperate toward some goal which they come to find desirable." [6] The community organization worker will usually give indirect rather than direct, public, or official leadership. But he must bring to the problems of his agency

[5] Kenneth L. M. Pray, "When Is Community Organization Social Work Practice?" *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 197, 202.

[6] Ordway Tead, *Art of Leadership* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935), p. 20.

all the knowledge, imagination, resourcefulness, and creative craftsmanship that he can command. He must often interpret, suggest, and analyze alternatives, and enter fully as a dynamic partner into a creative group process by which goals will be chosen, decisions will be hammered into shape and translated into action. The final decision will rest with a lay group; but the community organization worker must be a creative partner and participant in the determination of objectives as well as the expert in the application of the process of community organization.

In an interesting article on "A Federal Agency's Relation to Community Planning," [7] Arthur Hillman pointed out that the Office of Community War Services at various times played the role of the secretariat or clearinghouse, convener or mediator, attorney or advocate, and consultant or adviser. The roles of community organization workers would probably run the whole gamut from fact-finder, analyst, planner, catalyst, interpreter, educator, conferee, negotiator, mediator, and consultant to organizer, agent, executive aide, advocate, promoter, social actionist, and militant leader.

Moreover, Donald Howard and Hertha Kraus have recently challenged social workers in general and community organization workers in particular to produce leaders who can assume the roles of "social generalists" and social statesmen.[8] These are not flights of fancy; if we want examples of social statesmanship we can find two of them in the professional careers of those great civic servants of the last fifty years, Edward T. Devine and Homer Folks.

5. *The equipment of the community organization worker.*—Is it possible to give any general answer to the question of what should be the equipment of the community organization worker? If we allow for numerous individual exceptions we can perhaps formulate at least a tentative and general answer.

Presumably, he will derive his equipment from personal qualities and attributes, general education, graduate professional education, and experience. Most of us would probably agree that a college education and two years of graduate professional education in an accredited school of social work, with some specialization in community organiza-

[7] Arthur Hillman, "A Federal Agency's Relation to Community Planning," *Social Forces*, XXV (December, 1946), 183–89.

[8] Donald S. Howard, "New Horizons for Social Work," *Compass*, XXVIII (November, 1947), 9–13; Hertha Kraus, "The Future of Social Work: Some Comments on Social Work Function," *Compass*, XXIX (January, 1948), 3–9.

tion, would normally give the best foundation for a social worker who wishes to become a community organization practitioner.

Then, in addition to the basic professional education that we may assume for any social worker, I suggest that there should be six basic elements in the equipment of the community organization worker:

a) First-hand experience in dealing with people, preferably in a client-service agency: There is a difference of opinion on this point. I believe that the community organization worker should have had one or more years of previous staff experience (not merely field work) in a casework, social group work, or other client-service agency; or perhaps a reasonable equivalent of such experience in a closely allied profession. Social work is concerned with serving people, with human needs and human relationships. I believe that the community organization worker should enter social work at the point of helping and working with people rather than at the point of committees, meetings, organization charts, plans, programs, surveys, or campaigns. I am convinced that social work cannot afford to have community organization leaders who have not worked directly with the clients of the social service, cannot afford leaders who are remote from the experience of caseworkers and social group workers and who may tend to think of social welfare programs in abstract and impersonal terms.

b) A sound working knowledge of the field of social welfare and of types of social welfare resources on local, state, and national levels: In most community organization jobs, the worker must be a social work "generalist" rather than a specialist, in terms of his knowledge of functional fields.

c) An understanding and working knowledge of community organization, its objectives, the types of problem encountered, types and functions of agencies, methods and principles; and at least an elementary understanding of the closely related subject of administration.

d) Skill in the practice of community organization: This element, above all others, distinguishes the practitioner of community organization from one who merely "knows about" it. This skill is likely to be gained primarily from properly supervised field work and from experience.

e) Personal qualities: The community organization worker needs the personal qualities that are needed by any social worker, and also many of the qualities that are needed by an executive. Among the

important qualities we should certainly include integrity, courage, emotional balance and adjustment, objectivity, sound judgment, tact, sensitivity, adaptability, imagination, ability to work under pressure, an interest in, and liking for people, and a deeply held respect for human personality. One can hardly insist, in addition, that a sense of humor be mandatory, but the worker will have a rugged life without it!

f) A sound philosophy of community organization: The community organization worker needs to have a philosophy and an overall point of view about his job. To be sure, his community organization philosophy will be part of his philosophy of social work, his social philosophy, his philosophy of life. Authoritarianism, traditionalism, commercialism, lack of convictions, and a spineless opportunism are the antitheses of sound community organization. A sound philosophy of community organization would be rooted in democracy and oriented to its values of ultimate control by the whole people; the right of self-determination by the individual, the group, and the community; coöperation and mutual participation in the achievement of common goals.

6. *How shall we develop community organization workers?*—We may work through many channels to develop the number and the quality of workers that we need. We must go on from our present encouraging but scattered beginnings in job analysis. We must do a better job of recruiting, and we must put into our recruiting efforts some sense of the quality of social adventure which is inherent in community organization. We must greatly strengthen the programs of the schools of social work. We may need to supplement the regular curricula with more specialized summer institutes and opportunities for advanced study for those who have received their Master's degrees or have had substantial job experience.

We must accelerate the production of technical literature on community organization. Wayne McMillen has put us all in his debt by producing the most important and most valuable single book that has yet been written on *Community Organization for Social Welfare.* Other valuable additions to our material are being made, but we are still a long way from possessing an adequate working literature.

National agencies, such as Community Chests and Councils, the National Publicity Council, the National Social Welfare Assembly, the Association for the Study of Community Organization, and others,

may do much to raise the level of practice through research, publication, educational conferences, institutes, and meetings, field service, and other methods.

We can experiment with and gradually establish methods of recording that meet our needs. Community organization workers are not likely to arrive at full professional status until they develop the self-discipline and the conscious direction of their use of community organization that will come with the development of adequate analytical operating records.

Finally, community organization workers in local communities, individually and collectively, can become the greatest single force for advancing the job and raising standards. The individual worker can advance through reading and study, through becoming more analytical about his own job, through experimenting and reporting the results of his experiments. In local community organization discussion groups, workers may strengthen and stimulate each other and get a sense of working together in a common professional service.

Community organization must never be seen as merely a job. We are working with the materials out of which a community is built, a coöperative society is fashioned. We are in the thick of the personal, group, and intergroup relationships that make up modern social life. The community organization worker needs a sense of vocation. He is performing an essential function. He is a producer and conserver of social values. He has a vital and crucial role to play in the social drama of our time—the role of a servant of democracy.

MEDICINE AT THE CROSSROADS

By Allan M. Butler, M.D.

THE CROSSROADS at which medicine finds itself is not that of private charity, on the one hand, and government-financed medical care, on the other. The increase in the cost of medical care has forced us to use both for several years, since philanthropy and private charity did not meet the need. In the last few years the increase in the number of hospitals that are faced with bankruptcy and in the number of medical schools that are having difficulty in balancing their budgets has emphasized the need of financing medical care and education in a more systematic manner. When we are still in a period of inflation, when the country is seriously short of physicians, and when medical education must be both expanded and improved if the medical needs of the people are to be satisfied, some of the wealthiest medical schools are forced to curtail their budgets, and most of our teaching hospitals are faced with an annual deficit that threatens solvency. One of the large teaching hospitals, for example, had in 1947 a deficit approximating one and a half million dollars.

In the last few years, the opposition to government as the logical agency in a democracy to collect, from those whose health permits productive effort, funds in order to finance those who suffer the misfortune of illness has lessened markedly. The public and the American Medical Association have approved: (1) government financing of hospital construction on a national basis; (2) government financing of medical education and medical research by grants from the Federal Security Agency and the proposed National Research Foundation; (3) extension of government support of maternal and child care through the Children's Bureau of the Federal Security Agency; and (4) government extension of public health services. The American Medical Association has also, in endorsing the Taft National Health Act of 1947, approved government financing of medical care for low-income groups. Incidentally, the approval of these five items means that the American Medical Association has now endorsed five of the six parts of the original Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. In view of the

bitter denunciation of this bill by the medical profession, endorsement of five sixths of the original bill is indeed noteworthy.

The question, therefore, is not whether we will or will not have government-financed medical care; it is rather how will government-financed medical care be accomplished? Must it continue in the more or less haphazard manner by which it has been accomplished up to date, or can it be done in a more orderly way and with better co-ordination?

Carl Malmberg in his book *140 Million Patients*[1] presents from public health statistics the following information:

The United States is eighth from the top as regards infant mortality; twenty-third in maternal mortality; ninth in general death rates; sixth in deaths from tuberculosis; and seventh in deaths from diphtheria.

For white children, life expectancy in the United States is lower than in four other countries; for men at age twenty, less than in eight; for men at age forty, less than in eleven; and for men at age sixty, less than in twelve other countries.

Under our selective service examinations one out of six men remaining in 4F had defects which could be easily remedied.

In North Carolina half of the white and three quarters of the Negro registrants were rejected by selective service.

In New Mexico one child in ten dies before he reaches one year of age.

In New York State 21 percent of the tuberculosis cases which proved fatal in 1940–42 had not been reported prior to the patient's death.

In California 40 percent of the fatal cases of tuberculosis in 1943 were not reported prior to death.

One out of every twenty Americans goes to a mental institution sometime during his life. The cost of caring for mental patients in public mental institutions is $170,000,000 a year, and yet little is done therapeutically to make return of these patients to society likely.

Two thirds of the maternal deaths in New York State in 1933, according to a report of the New York Academy of Medicine, were preventable. In 1943 a report of the Minnesota State Medical Association stated that 73 percent of maternal deaths were preventable.

Bernard Baruch, speaking in November of 1947 to the County Medical Societies and Hospital Association of New York City, said:

[1] Carl Malmberg, *140 Million Patients* (New York: Reynal, 1947).

There is no question—the need for more medical care exists. Also, there is no question this need will have to be met. The problem is how.

In the matter of adequate medical care, too many doctors have been fighting a rear-guard action for too long. I feel I must warn those doctors—time is running against them. The medical profession has justly earned great influence in the community. It can keep that hold only as it moves forward. It will lose that hold if it has nothing but objections to offer, if it has eyes only for what not to do.

We must look for what can be done—and do it.

The great question is how? I do not want to seem to say I know the answers. We do know the public is demanding better and more medical service through some action—political or otherwise.

Even the least ambitious schemes for improving the nation's health require more doctors, all competently trained. Why aren't more doctors being educated? In studying that question, I was struck by how expensive training a doctor has become—in dollars and in time.

Dr. Edwards A. Park, Emeritus Professor of Pediatrics, Johns Hopkins University, in speaking at the New York Academy of Medicine, stated:

> The private medical schools must have state aid. At Johns Hopkins the tuition is $600.00 a year. The cost to the medical school of the education of the student is $3,900 per year. With the shrinking resources and the disappearance of the old private supports and without the addition of new, the full-time medical schools cannot continue.
>
> The State must aid the student financially because of the long, costly preliminary years of preparation, if medicine is to attract the finest of our young men. During four years in Johns Hopkins Medical School, the cost of the expenses of the medical student, apart from tuition, is from $1,300 to $1,500 a year. During his hospital training as intern, he receives no stipend. Only to those who command financial resources and can wait the years of preparation is a medical career open.

The New York Academy of Medicine's report on "Medicine in the Changing Order" states: "There seems no alternative other than government aid if educational standards are to be raised or even maintained. . . . If medical schools are to continue as centers of research . . . here also government aid may be necessary."

A beginning is being made in such financing of medical education and research under existing legislation through the United States Public Health Service and the National Institute of Health. Thus far the manner in which admirably qualified committees have approved applications for scholarships or grants to support teaching and research has given little ground for criticism. Will the Congress defend

the professional direction of this Federal support, or will it permit its members or members of the administrative branch of the government to channel the grants to specified fields of medicine that have a popular appeal? If so, government-financed medical education and research may be as compartmentalized by sentimental appeal as is the research financed by the high-pressure drives for funds to fight infantile paralysis, cancer, and heart disease. If we start piecemeal, according to the dictates of pressure groups, without due thought, then the possibility of systematically financing medical research on a broad, coördinated basis by government support may be postponed for years.

A survey under the joint auspices of the American Academy of Pediatrics, the United States Public Health Service, and the United States Children's Bureau of the facilities for training physicians in the care of infants and children in the United States has been completed. Dr. John A. Toomey, president of the Academy, reports that this survey "has revealed a critical need of funds for the support of pediatric departments in the medical schools and the improvement of pediatric teaching of medical students." The American Academy of Pediatrics Committee for the Improvement of Child Health and the executive board of the Academy have, therefore, submitted a recommendation for Federal support of pediatric education. The report states:

> The preliminary findings of the Study reveal a startling lack of adequate training of a considerable portion of both general practitioners and pediatricians.
>
> General practitioners provide 75 percent of the medical care of the children of the country. Yet nearly half (46 percent) have had practically no hospital training in pediatrics; 16 percent have reported that they had no hospital training whatsoever following graduation from medical school.
>
> These facts now being sharply defined by the Academy's Study point directly to the need for more physicians who are trained in the care of children, especially in the remote and rural areas. This need must be met before other health measures can be effected.
>
> This need can be met only by strengthening pediatric education in medical schools and hospitals, for undergraduates and postgraduates, for general practitioners and pediatricians, and by bringing the benefit of this teaching to the child wherever he is.
>
> Personal visits to each of the seventy approved medical schools and their affiliated hospitals have brought into clear focus the precarious financial situation which limits pediatric education today. The average budget for the pediatric departments of the seventy medical schools is approximately $25,000 a year. Over a third of the pediatric departments work on teaching

budgets of less than $10,000 a year; three of these have no regularly allocated funds for teaching.

Federal support for child health training is required to provide more physicians, both general practitioners and specialists, better trained in the medical care and health supervision of children from birth to adolescence, as a means toward making available to all children of this country a more equitable distribution of health services of high quality.

The presentation of this considered report to Academy members has produced a rather violent reaction from some quarters. In a letter to Dr. Toomey, Dr. W. C. Black, of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, says:

I cannot tell you how stunned and staggered I was as I read this vicious document which has received official approval by our Executive Board. I could not believe my eyes. Now that I have recovered from the initial shock somewhat, I wish to inform you of my complete, total, uncompromising disgust with this stupid and visionary report, and the clear implication that control of Academy affairs and of the pediatric survey have fallen into the hands of persons committed to the collectivist social philosophy.

This is a fair example of the vehemence with which doctors can say what not to do. The antipathy of many Americans to serious planning is interesting. Today perhaps half the budgets of medical schools and half the sums expended on medical research are provided by government. The public accepts all this government financing of medical research and education if it is done without much over-all planning. The same attitude applies to medical care. It is all right for the United Mine Workers to establish separate health and medical services for its members. It is all right for the Veterans Administration to establish segregated veterans' hospitals. It is all right for the garment workers to establish clinical, but not home or hospital, medical services. The United Automobile Workers may establish a diagnostic service provided they do not follow diagnosis with treatment. Apparently, almost anything is all right so long as effort is divided, uncoördinated, and inefficient; and so long as no one undertakes to do a systematic job in providing health and medical care for the American people. Are we afraid of our ability to tackle the real job, or are we afraid of what doing the job successfully would mean?

I do not wish to argue the pros and cons of the National Health Insurance Act of 1947 versus the National Health Act of 1947. Nevertheless, in terms of considered planning versus temporary expediency the two measures may serve as examples.

When the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill was first discussed much thought was given as to whether medical care should be financed from general tax funds or by application of the insurance principle. The more radically inclined group favored financing from general tax funds. This, they said, applied the principle of progressive taxation and continued the present policy of having the rich pay for the medical care of the poor. The representatives of labor, however, argued that this was, in a sense, too socialistic. It meant that the lower income groups would be getting "free medicine." It also meant that most of the public would not directly feel the cost or be aware of it. These individuals argued that application of the insurance principle by pay-roll deduction was sounder. This, they said, would mean that all gainfully occupied people would be conscious of the cost of the governmentally financed medical care. Having visibly paid their money they would insist upon getting their money's worth. This would be an excellent check on the economy and efficiency of the services. They also emphasized that application of the insurance principle by pay-roll deduction would automatically designate those whose medicine would have to be financed from general tax funds; for, obviously, all persons against whom pay-roll deductions were not made would of necessity have to have their medical care paid for by others.

The group arguing for application of the insurance principle won. So, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill (the National Health Insurance Act of 1947) in this rather cute manner avoided a "means test" that would be costly in administration and open to all kinds of political pressure at the local administrative levels. Apparently, Mr. Baruch agrees with this conservative decision by those who drew up the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, for, in the address already referred to, he states:

> Your [i.e., doctors'] organizations have been particularly active in pressing voluntary health insurance. You and others have proven group insurance to be a sound, practical way. That is a great achievement. You can be mighty proud of it.
>
> But I would not be frank—nor friendly—if I did not add what you know. It is not good enough.
>
> Rome was not doctored in one day. It may be, as some have told me, that the needs of the bulk of our people can be met, given time, through voluntary insurance. What troubles me most are the needs of that sizable segment of society which does not earn enough to pay for voluntary insurance.

Nothing has been suggested so far, which promises success, other than some form of insurance covering these people in by law and financed by the Government, at least in part—what some would call "compulsory health insurance."

As to financing, my own preference runs toward the Government meeting only part of the cost, with part coming from payroll deductions from employers and workers.

The detailed problems raised by so-called compulsory health insurance are too numerous to be discussed tonight. I have weighed them most carefully.

All law imposes compulsion. A form of compulsory health insurance for those who cannot pay for voluntary insurance can be devised, adequately safeguarded, without involving what has been termed "socialized medicine."

Another conservative feature of this bill is its provision for medical education and research. If the people through their government are spending money on medical care, promotion of medical education and research seems highly desirable as a means of maintaining standards and improving the effectiveness of that care. In setting aside for education and research 2 percent of the sums expended on medical care this safeguard seems satisfactorily provided.

However, some doctors will have none of this. In objecting, they have gone to rather extraordinary extremes. For example, the National Physicians Committee, which is endorsed by the American Medical Association, spent some six hundred thousand dollars last year on propaganda from which the following is taken:

THE MOST DEADLY MENACE

Over a period of ten years, no issue in the United States has held the deadly menace that is inherent in the relentless drive to impose on the American people—COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE. No other issue has been as assiduously and as persistently promoted by its sponsors.

It has taken ten years to unmask the forces behind the sponsorship and to force the issue into the open. NOW the sponsors have been unmasked. The issue is in the open.

The source of the unremitting and relentless drive for Compulsory Health Insurance—Socialized Medicine—the Political Distribution of Medical Care in this country—is the Moscow dominated Communist Party of the United States.

This program did not originate in the United States, but in the secret councils of world communism.

The campaign for socialized medicine in the United States stems directly from Kremlin communism.

Five years ago, similar leaflets issued by this committee said that the forces behind the sponsorship were Nazism and Hitler totalitarianism, but apparently that was a mistake. However, there appears to be no mistake about Lloyd George, Roosevelt, Wagner, Murray, Truman, and Baruch being communists.

The Taft National Health Act of 1947 states "that it is the policy of the United States to aid the States, through consultative services and grants-in-aid, to make available medical, hospital, dental and public-health services to every individual regardless of race or economic status." This will be accomplished under state-wide programs that will provide:

> (*a*) hospital services, surgical services and medical services for all those families and individuals in the State having insufficient income to pay the whole cost of such; and (*b*) periodic physical examinations for all children in elementary and secondary schools in the State. . . . Such program shall provide for the collection of proper charges of less than the total cost of such services from persons unable to pay in whole, but able to pay in part therefor.

The Federal contribution to the costs of these programs will come from general tax funds. Each state is left to collect its portion of the costs as it sees fit. No mention is made in the bill of definition of eligibility other than that the services are to be provided for families and individuals with low income. So the question of whether this bill is intended for 20 percent or 70 percent of the public is left open. Eligibility, however ultimately defined, will have to be re-assessed continually according to the shifting earning capacity and expenses of individuals as they are affected by employment and illness. And each time the eligibility will have to be defined in terms of the government's contributing 10 percent—25 percent—50 percent—75 percent or 100 percent of the costs of the care at the moment. Thus the bill provides free medicine to an indefinitely defined portion of the public. Moreover, the Federal Government is denied means of defending the quality of this free medicine. Finally, there is no provision for improving medical care by supporting medical education and research except for some very inadequate support for dental research.

> If [says Dr. Park] the Bill were passed as it stands, there could be as many different systems of medical care as there are states. Some of these in the more progressive states would probably be very good, in some other states

exceedingly poor, and all would be laid open to the possibility of political intrigue and inefficiency. If the passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill would produce chaos in medical care, the Taft Bill would produce national confusion and perhaps corruption, and would establish an inefficiency which it might be impossible to overcome. It would span the way to the perpetuation and extension of the poor features of the present system of medical care without the assurance of new good features. The bill is an example of careless thinking, or not thinking at all, and the fact that such a manifestly inferior measure could be proposed by our legislators is depressing to those who perceive how glorious a medical care program might be.

In an article in the autumn *Yale Review,* former Governor Ellis Gibbs Arnall, of Georgia, states:

> There is a wide gulf between the proposals of some liberals for universal medical care and the proposals of some Radical Tories for subsidization of medical costs in the lower-income groups, a form of Bismarckian State Socialism repugnant to all American concepts, however well intended and however beneficial to the subsidized groups at the expense of the main body of citizens.
>
> The Democratic party can, with propriety, support a measure, such as President Truman recommends, to include the cost of medical care in the general Social Security program of the country. The desirability of a specific measure would depend upon the cost of the program, the details of administration . . . etc. But, in theory, there is nothing objectionable about such a program. On the other hand, a program to subsidize medical care of those who are in depressed groups, to establish such a subsidy as a national policy and thereby give aid and comfort to those who believe that a handout is the appropriate substitute for justice, is not in accord with the basic beliefs of those who think that America can fulfill its promises of individual freedom and social responsibility.

In using these two bills as examples of the divergent manner in which government financing of medical care may be approached and the emotional reactions that this problem may evoke, my personal point of view may be apparent. That, however, is not important. What is important is that we are at the crossroads where the decision must be made to proceed either along the way of a broad, clearly defined policy of more adequately financing medical education, research, and care or along the way of ill-defined, temporary expediency. The former will require considered thought, tolerant discussion, and much public debate. Diversity of opinion should not only be expected, but encouraged. For, as President James Bryant Conant of Harvard University remarked in his annual report for 1948 "in a

democracy with our traditions only those reasoned convictions which emerge from diversity of opinion can lead to that unity—so essential for the welfare of the country." In this connection the medical profession's discouragement of divergent opinion within the profession is unfortunate. Respect in a democracy for minority opinion is perhaps the most conservative way to contribute to the wisdom of majority opinion. Possibly it is this lack of considered debate by the profession that has resulted in its having no constructive program. Again quoting Dr. Park:

> Granted that it is impossible now to think through the problem of medical care to the very end, it is certainly possible to think a considerable way into it; some requirements are common to any comprehensive medical care plan, and are as evident now as twenty years away. There is no planning in what is going on, and this is because there is no medical leadership.
>
> Its much touted "Ten-point program" is no program in any original, dynamic, or constructive sense, or, indeed in any sense, but only a series of pious platitudes . . .
>
> Its primary concern throughout as judged by its behavior has seemed to me to be aimed consistently at the preservation of the medical care system as it exists today at all costs. (Disturbed, it cries out in the words of Fafnir coiled around his treasure, when the youthful Siegfried, the personification of the new order, approaches with his magic sword, *"Lass mich schlafen."*)
>
> In this critical period of change, when the handwriting appears on so many walls, the behavior of organized medicine is humiliating, and its leadership has seemed incredibly stupid . . .

As a member of the medical profession and of the American Medical Association I regret that such criticism can justly be made. It is a serious indictment of the profession. Its validity is serious for the public. For the constructive participation of the medical profession in the development of any national health program is essential for the accomplishment of a good job. Without more adequate financing medical education, research, and care a good job cannot be done. Though the present hysterically reactionary time is not propitious, let us hope that the old guard will soon be retired and that younger leaders, concerned with the medicine of the future rather than that of the past, will join social workers, who encounter the needs so vividly, in providing a constructive professional leadership that will guide the public in devising means of realizing the potentialities for improving health and medical care.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF MENTAL HYGIENE

By Sol Wiener Ginsburg, M.D.

THE CHALLENGE OF THIS SUBJECT invites the type of easy generalization about which I have the strongest questions. It would be easy to list a whole array of social and economic problems which currently weigh upon us and speculate about their mental hygiene implications—war and peace, unemployment, the threat of a new depression, the influence on women of industrial life, marriage and divorce, delinquency and crime, prejudice and segregation, universal military training, day care for children of working mothers, etc., etc. But I have thought it wiser to speculate on the general problem and then take one or two examples to see how far we dare venture with confidence to discuss their mental hygiene implications.

Mental hygiene has been defined as "the science we apply in helping people to obtain and maintain mental health." In other words, the definition continues, "mental hygiene, like any other science, such as physiology, psychology, etc., is a body of knowledge, and mental health is the condition which you hope will ensue from the application of the body of knowledge to the individual."

How does psychiatry acquire its knowledge? In three ways: through experimental evidence which corresponds to what is traditionally recognized as scientific method; through empirical evidence consisting of insights based on facts; and, in this connection most important, especially since it is rarely mentioned or understood, through value judgments. Since much of mental hygiene activity inevitably falls within the range of social action, it is essential to recognize that value judgments serve as a motivational basis for the execution of such acts.[1]

The term "value judgment" refers to the "emergent product resulting from the weighing process an individual goes through, largely unconsciously, or 'intuitively' in 'deciding' a course of action." [2] This

[1] Adapted from a personal communication from Dr. Nathan W. Ackerman to the author.
[2] Hadley Cantril, *Understanding Man's Social Behavior* (Princeton: Office of Public Opinion Research, 1947), p. 11.

process becomes particularly complicated in the area of social judgment. The judgment is arrived at as a result of many factors, often largely unconscious, and it is never solely intellectual.

In contrast to these value judgments, scientific method as traditionally defined offers psychiatry little. If for no other reason, this would be true because of the manifest impossibility of reducing human behavior to experimental conditions, so many are the variables involved.

The largest body of evidence on which psychiatry relies is empirical in its derivation, and much of this has been learned in the course of treating neurotic patients. Although such data is clearly empirical, it has certainly been admitted to the body of scientific knowledge; indeed, without it, psychiatry would be quite barren.

Bearing in mind these conditions, I turn to two fields of mental hygiene activity which, I hope, will illustrate this matter more fully. Of all the ills currently besetting man, racial and religious prejudice is clearly one of the greatest and most destructive. It is surely an index of this concern that an immense amount of energy and time is now devoted to the study of these phenomena of prejudice, not only by psychiatrists and psychologists, but by sociologists, historians, anthropologists, and others. Robin Williams, in his remarkable survey of research on problems of ethnic, racial, and religious group relations, states that in 1945 there were in the field of race relations 123 national organizations; and his bibliography contains no less than 223 items.[3]

In much of this research and activity, psychiatry has played a large role, and properly so. Wherever psychiatric research has been directed to the problem of the individual, both the prejudiced person and the object of the prejudice, it has made significant contributions. Some of these bear directly on the interests of mental hygiene.

In the work of Else Frenkel-Brunswik and R. Nevitt Sanford on the anti-Semitic personality, two hundred and sixteen college women and a smaller number of male students at the University of California were studied by questionnaire and various projective techniques. The first results were similar to those found in other studies and revealed that anti-Semitism was part of a general attitude which the authors term "ethnocentrism." Furthermore, the anti-Semite tends to have a

[3] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947), p. 7.

conservative political and social outlook and automatically to prefer the *status quo*. The outstanding characteristic of the bigoted girls is the sharp cleavage between what the authors term "the overt and covert layers of the personality."

> On the manifest level the anti-Semitic girls express devotion to their parents; in their thematic apperception test stories, the parental figures appear in a very unfavorable light. On the surface we find emphasis on high morals, kindness and charity. . . . but there is much destructiveness in the indirect material. Likewise, there is "official optimism" on the one hand, and fear of catastrophe on the other. There is conservatism as well as anarchy. There is the idea that everybody gets what he deserves, as well as doubt and cynicism.[4]

In reviewing their evidence, the authors conclude:

> The most outstanding feature of the anti-Semitic college women, as derived from our small sample, seems to be a restricted, narrow personality with a strict, conventional superego, to which there is complete surrender. It is the conventional superego which takes over the function of the undeveloped ego, producing a lack of individuation and a tendency to stereotyped thinking. In order to achieve harmony with the parents, with parental images, and with society as a whole, basic impulses, which are conceived as low, destructive and dangerous, have to be kept repressed and can find only devious expressions, as for instance, in projections and "moral indignation." Thus, anti-Semitism, and intolerance against out-groups generally may have an important function in keeping the personality integrated. Without these channels or outlets (if they should not be provided by society) it may be much more difficult, in some cases impossible, to keep the mental balance. Hence, the rigid and compulsive adherence to prejudices.[5]

Or, to take another example of research soundly conceived and brilliantly executed, we may turn to the studies made by Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda on anti-Semitism. Accumulating data on psychoanalyzed patients from thirty psychoanalysts, the authors arrived at these, among many other, findings:

> All the patients in their series suffered from diffuse anxiety; not one showed a sense of security in his group membership. They all had a basic feeling of rejection by the world at large, a feeling of not belonging. . . . This pervasive anxiety prevented them from forming safe and secure individual attachments. They were unhappy in their marital relationships and seemed unable to maintain close friendships. They lived under a constant threat of attack on their self-esteem. Socially, economically, emotionally, sexually

[4] Else Frenkel-Brunswik and R. Nevitt Sanford, "The Anti-Semitic Personality," in *Anti-Semitism*, ed. Ernst Simmel (New York: International Universities Press, 1946), p. 113.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

. . . they frequently suffered from an exaggerated sense of vulnerability. Fundamentally these people are weak, immature, passive and dependent. In the syndrome of weakness, anxiety and instability, anti-Semitism seemed to play a functionally well-defined role. It is a defense against self-hate; it represents displacement of the self-destroying trends. . . . Anti-Semitism can be considered at the individual level as a profound though irrational effort to restore a crippled self.[6]

Both these studies, and there is a large number of similarly valid ones, illustrate the solid ground that mental hygiene is on if it bases its lessons on similarly sound study. Brunswik and Sanford write:

To increase psychological insight and sensitivity, to bring about freedom from repression throughout the middle class is, of course, a task of tremendous proportions—hence, we should lose no time in increasing our efforts to that end. We cannot hope to psychoanalyze everybody, but education for self-understanding is something that can be tremendously expanded. We should mobilize all possible energy behind a program for increased education about man and society. If one is inclined to regard such a problem as hopelessly long-term, let him remember that education is a very durable middle class value, and that the people's appetite for correct information is often greater than the capacity of science to supply it. It is well to remember that the kind of understanding of which we speak had steadily increased during the course of history. Less than one hundred years ago, it was still the fashion in science to insist that man was fundamentally different from other animals, and less than fifty years ago many anthropologists took for granted the white man's superiority to "Primitives." The struggle against anti-Semitism is a part of the struggle for enlightenment.[7]

To be sure this recommendation is, in a sense, visionary, but it is based on valid research as well as on the authors' value systems.

Similarly, we may briefly mention the work on the unemployed by such students of the problem as Bakke, Lazarsfeld-Jahoda, Singer, and the author [8] and his colleagues. These studies of the unemployed afford a detailed and well-documented picture of the emotional, social, and psychological impact of unemployment on the man and his

[6] Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, "Toward a Dynamic Interpretation of Anti-Semitic Attitudes," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XXVIII, No. 1 (January, 1948), 163.

[7] Brunswik and Sanford, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[8] Sol W. Ginsburg, "What Unemployment Does to People," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, LXXXXIX, No. 3 (November, 1942), 439–46. See also Eli Ginzberg and associates, *The Unemployed* (New York: Harper, 1943); E. W. Bakke, *The Unemployed Man* (London: Nisbet, 1933); Marie Lazarsfeld-Yahoda and Hans Zeisl, *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal*, Psychologische Monograph No. 5 (Vienna: Hirzel, 1933); J. Singer, *Unemployment and the Unemployed* (New York: Chemical Publishing Co., 1940).

family. The actual destructive effects of unemployment are clearly revealed; the loss of prestige and authority of the unemployed man in his family; the gradual taking over of traditionally feminine jobs by the man who is always at home; the tensions accumulating from withdrawal from the usual workaday routine and its strength-providing group cohesions—these are but a few factors of obvious import to us as mental hygienists.

As long as mental hygiene bases its program essentially on such research, it has enormous merit and worth. When it uses only value systems and pronounces only that we are "on the side of the angels," I believe we have lost much of our efficacy. A psychiatrist knows much from his study of individuals on questions of political philosophy, ethics, and idealism. But I doubt that he has more to offer in these areas than other enlightened men. As a colleague wrote recently, "I think we have to be careful not to let the socially desirable, from an idealistic standpoint, coincide with our concept of the mental hygienic." Gunnar Myrdal [9] emphasizes, in discussing methods of mitigating bias in social science,

> The valuations will, when driven underground, hinder observation and inference from becoming truly objective. This can be avoided only by making the valuations explicit. There is no other device for excluding biases in social sciences than to face the valuations and to introduce them as explicitly stated, specific, and sufficiently concretized value premises. If this is done, it will be possible to determine in a rational way, and openly to account for, the direction of the theoretical research. It will further be possible to cleanse the scientific work shop from concealed, but ever resurgent distorting valuations. Practical conclusions may thus be reached by rational inferences from the data and the value premises. Only in this way does social engineering, as an advanced branch of social research, become a rational discipline under full scientific control.

And, finally, I should like to quote at some length from Dr. Alexander Leighton, who has the unique advantage of being both a psychiatrist and a social scientist:

> The points made thus far emphasize the need of keeping the social scientist at work for the common good and at the same time keeping him a scientist. . . . This means that there is need for order in the relationship of the non-scientific values with the scientific; otherwise, emotional, moral, religious

[9] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944), p. 1043. The appendix (pp. 1041–57) on "Methods of Mitigating Biases in Social Science" deserves most careful study in this connection.

and esthetic sources of human development can be harmed by pseudo-science, while science is destroyed by the introduction of assumptions that are not part of it.

The formula for ordering these values is easily stated and may, indeed, be compressed into two sentences. Within an area marked off for scientific investigation, the values of science alone control each step in the process toward conclusions and in the conclusions themselves . . .

The social scientist also has to mark off carefully the boundaries of his problem and within these boundaries strive to maintain the concepts, values and methods that are part of the scientific process. . . . This means treating the social forces under consideration not with heat and excitement but with the same interest that would be pertinent toward molecules and ions in physiology, the animals and plants in a problem of forest ecology, the hormones and organs in medicine, and toward the human complexes and conflicts that concern psychiatry. This does not involve self-excommunication from all human feeling or carrying this attitude everywhere in life. Within the problem area, however, it does call for discipline and for an open, inquiring, non-assertive kind of mind, working with assumptions and hypotheses of varying degrees of reliability from the very first tentative to the fairly well established, but avoiding creeds.

This applies to one's own favored ideas as well as those which others may thrust upon him and urge him to adopt. He must be particularly wary of these non-scientific values with which he most sympathizes. All biases are poisonous to science, but the worst are those that appeal strongly to the scientist. This, of course, is not easy, but if there is another road to science, it has not yet been found.[10]

I believe firmly that if we adhere to such sound principles, mental hygiene can indeed function fruitfully in many areas of social tension; there is no need for us to spin the illusion of omnipotence and omniscience.

[10] Alexander H. Leighton, M.D., personal communication.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF MENTAL HEALTH

By Julius Schreiber, M.D.

MAN'S CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT—his social reality—determines his chances for satisfaction or frustration of his individual needs. It has a great deal to do with the quality and extent of his self-fulfillment. It determines, in a large measure, the balance between self-expression and the demands of social conformity and social responsibility. Recognizing this, psychiatrists are increasingly concerned, not only with biological factors in disease, but also with the reactivity of the total organism—the integrated personality—struggling with the opportunities and dangers of a given social situation.

Today's social, economic, and political climate generates intense fears, gnawing anxieties, in millions of people—fear of war, fear of loss of savings due to runaway inflation, fear of loss of job, fear of depression, fear of the future! The tension, anxiety, and frustration arising from these and other problems, such as prejudice and discrimination, lack of housing, inadequate medical services, unequal educational opportunities, and many more, manifest themselves on various levels of personal and interpersonal experience. Such social dangers always threaten, and often undermine, the personality defenses. Ulcers are formed, blood pressures go up, aches and pains abound, family relationships are disrupted, hostility is released, intrapsychic conflicts are projected, hate is displaced and fastened upon innocent scapegoats. There is general hell and misery, and neither man nor society benefits from it.

The battleground involves the mental health of men. And the outcome is in doubt.

In spite of theoretical differences that may exist, few psychiatrists will argue with a concept of mental health which insists that mental health means more than succeeding in staying out of a mental hospital:

> Mental health clearly means that an individual has found a reasonable measure of peace with himself and with his environment—it means that an individual is able to pursue reasonable, purposeful goals; may use his

capacities and talents fruitfully; experiences a sense of security, of belonging, of being respected; has a knowledge that he is liked, or loved and—wanted; has a sense of achievement. Mental health also means that an individual has self-reliance and self-respect and also has learned to respect others, to accept others, and live with others.[1]

Certainly, no matter what else one may wish to add to this concept, there can be no argument that all that has just been said must be included in any definition of mental health. But such a desirable state presupposes a cultural environment which can make possible the attainment of such a high level of emotional maturity. Where is such an environment to be found?

We ask that every man, woman, and child be given a chance to develop to the full his or her potential strengths and values. Yet, how many actually have that chance? Man's physical and mental well-being is intimately interrelated with the social, economic, and political institutions, practices, and problems of the culture in which he lives. In our society, it is difficult for anyone to grow up without at least some minor, if not major, emotional disability. Further, there is evidence that the incidence of mental disorder is definitely increasing. But social institutions are man-made. They can be acted upon, modified, or changed by man. However, man's social actions are also influenced by the kind of mental health he has. This two-way process is charged with serious implications, both for man and for society.

The imminence of world-wide destruction is no longer an alarmist threat, but a terrifying reality. Out of defeatism or calculated determination, the phrase "if the third World War comes," has in many quarters yielded to "when we go to war." Loose talk and double talk, charge and countercharge, suspicion and name-calling choke the atmosphere. And there are some compelling questions which demand prompt and affirmative answers: Can man control his destructive hostilities? Can man adjust to the constantly changing world relationships? Can man manipulate his environment, mold it to serve the best interests of all men? Will he?

Many of us believe that the answers to these questions can be a definite and positive "Yes!" And this belief does not stem from a naïve optimism. Man does have within him the capacity and the power to relate himself to his fellow men in such a way as to afford all

[1] Julius Schreiber, "Mental Health through Functioning Democracy," *Mental Health Bulletin*, XXIV, No. 4 (September–October, 1946), pp. 1–2.

men—the world over—the good things of life that he asks for himself. Human hostility can be controlled. Pathogenic social, economic, and political institutions can be modified or changed outright. This is not to say that man will necessarily do this, but he can.

But, some may ask, does the manipulation of man's social environment really matter very much? After all, is not the damage already done? Are not emotional disorders due to traumatic experiences in one's early life? Of course, there are unresolved infantile neuroses; and there are neurotics whose reality situations do not constitute a great threat to their recovery. But it must be remembered that traumatic emotional experiences may cause damage to the personality at any time in the life history of the individual. Any serious attempt to treat or prevent mental illness must take this into account.

Man can do something about these social, economic, and political problems. It lies within his power; for man is not only a social animal, he is also a political animal.

Politics is simply defined as the theory, art, and practice of government. Every one of us is in it. The extent of our participation in politics varies widely, however. Few of us take an active role in determining what rules shall govern us in our relationships to each other. Most of us, unfortunately, have been narcotized into a state of passive onlooking. All of us, participants and observers alike, pay the penalties and suffer the consequences whenever we have unsound government.

Nor is this unhappy state of affairs surprising. Society has become very complex. Populations have increased. Machine technology has progressed in gigantic strides. Communication and transportation have greatly expanded, and the world has correspondingly shrunk. The relatively simple politics in which man engaged fifty years ago are now a thing of the past.

Today the average adult finds himself somewhat in the position of the child. He may ask questions about the why and how of things, but he must rely more and more upon the "experts" in various fields of human endeavor for the answers. International political, economic, and social issues now seem more muddled than ever before. Man's mental state in such a confusing atmosphere does not require description. And the "experts" tell him that matters stand this way or that way, that the thing to do is this or that, that the fault lies here or there.

But who are the "experts"? Often they are earnest men and women

with specialized training in a given field. Often they are ill-equipped individuals who, through some freak circumstance, have been catapulted into a situation which affords them a reading or listening audience of amazing magnitude. Still others, with or without an adequate background, are conscious propagandists for a special point of view and do not hesitate to make deliberate "interpretations and reports" along lines calculated to spread and reinforce the points of view for which they labor. Regardless of intentions, the experts are human beings like the very men whom they seek to enlighten. Being such, the way in which they view the world and interpret its problems is determined by their own individual, social, economic, and political experiences and the conclusions they have drawn from these.

Relying on experts for his sources of information, man is therefore at best relying on a gamble. Further, when other experts—political leaders, legislators, statesmen—make decisions which affect the future, the lives, of millions of people, the gamble is more than a mere shake of the dice, it is a shaking of the entire planet which, should the throw be false, means its disappearance in an atomic puff!

Yet this is the trap in which all men are caught. Men, being social animals, must live in organized group life. The mental health of the individual requires satisfying group affiliations and group experiences. The weaker the person's sense of individual identity, the greater the need for emotional support from the group. Social life requires group rules and regulations. The assumption, however, is that such government, to be desirable, will serve the greatest number with the greatest good, and at the same time do no more than a minimum of violence to the desires and needs of the minority whose interests may conflict with the majority. This is one of the underlying assumptions of democratic government. And social, economic, and political democracy is necessary for the development of a fully mature personality. Mental health is dependent on it.

How well are we doing on the democratic front? Are we making progress? Let us be honest: the progress is very slow; it limps along timidly and faces entrenched resistance. In its review of the road we have so far traveled and of the present-day American scene, the President's Committee on Civil Rights states:

> We have a great heritage of freedom and equality for all men, sometimes called "the American way." Yet we cannot avoid the knowledge that the American ideal still awaits complete realization . . .

From our work as a Committee, we have learned much that has shocked us, and much that has made us ashamed . . .[2]

Throughout the entire report the glaring discrepancies between democratic credo and practice stand out sharply. To many Americans the Committee's findings are not new, but to all Americans the report is a challenge to their integrity.

When the report was released, most Americans hailed it as very timely and praised the Committee for its courageous and accurate presentation of the facts. Civic leaders rallied to its support and made plans for implementing the Committee's recommendations. The following resolution was unanimously approved and passed by the membership of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry on November 11, 1947:

The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry welcomes the timely reaffirmation of the basic rights and the dignity of man contained in the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

As psychiatrists, we are convinced that the protection of civil rights is vital to the mental health of our citizens. Experiences which result in frustration, insecurity, fear and hate, undermine the mental health of individuals and create unhealthy relations between persons and groups of persons.

The social conditions necessary to insure mental health require the full protection for *all* citizens of these basic rights as defined in the Report of the President's Committee:

"The right to the safety and security of the person;
"The right to citizenship and its privileges;
"The right to freedom of conscience and expression;
"The right to equality of opportunity."

Because these rights affect mental health, we strongly urge that the responsible governmental authorities promptly take action to secure them to our citizens. At no time in our history has this been more important. All means of communication should be used to inform the public of the meaning of these rights and the recommendations of the President's Committee intended to preserve them.

Such a statement by leading psychiatrists is of the utmost significance. Professional men and women, engaged in psychiatric research or practice, clearly claim a positive relationship between mental health and a truly functioning democracy. With equal firmness, they indicate that when mental health is undermined, unhealthy relations are created "between persons and groups of persons." How-

[2] *To Secure These Rights; Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947), pp. 3, 10.

ever, there are some, including a few psychiatrists, who question such a relationship. Talking as experts, they can and do add to the confusion. "Give the Negro the vote in the South," said one such "expert" with apparent sincerity, "and you'll upset whatever mental health he has. You'll be giving him a new responsibility which he cannot shoulder!" Similar opinion is offered by others. To all of which, a Negro sociologist remarked, "Tell a Negro about to be lynched that his mental health is all right!"

Tell children who feel the searing flame of "damn Jew!" "damn nigger!" "damn Catholic!" "damn Protestant!" damn-this or damn-that—tell them it is a joke, that their hurt is nonexistent, their tears illusory. Tell a harassed father who fears for his job—or who hunts one—that the inflation is a mirage, and anyhow he should eat less. Tell him that his anxieties and tensions are silly. Tell overcrowded families living in tight quarters that there is no housing problem.

Somehow the stubborn people will not listen. A dollar once bought so much, they say, and now it buys so much less! And the worried breadwinner just refuses to be sensible. His sleep *is* disturbed. His tension *does* mount. His stomach *does* tighten into knots. His heart *does* beat faster. And his mental health is undermined!

The poison of racial and religious prejudice and discrimination makes a mockery of our democratic credo, and it does no good to point to the progress that has been made in the past 100 years. The victims of unfair discriminatory practices are living now, today. It will come as no comfort to a Negro about to be lynched that "someday" this socially condoned practice of murder may cease to exist. Nor will he settle for the promise that after he is lynched he may be buried in a nonsegregated Potter's field. He wants neither the lynching nor the segregation. He wants democracy. And he wants it now!

Another form of prejudice—political prejudice—also deserves attention. A long-time insidious threat to mental health has become much more bold and ugly. Thriving on the seeming need of many to conform to the dominant community patterns of thought and action, a particularly dangerous and belligerent challenge has arisen. In essence, it is a fundamental attack on those who dare to differ. Throughout the land, there are men and women who experience anxiety, intense resentment, and frustration—cruel psychological torment—because of the open or concealed threat to their security, should they dare to express what they think; they find that many chest-thumping

individuals, waving the flag and braying loudly about their own special brand of "patriotism," hurl at them the angry labels "radicals!" "New Dealers!" "communists!" "fascists!" For such superpatriots are suspicious of all whose notions of what is loosely called "Americanism" happen to differ from their own. In accord with their Ku Klux Klan mentality, the word "loyalty" is now spelled "c-o-n-f-o-r-m-i-t-y." And the criteria for loyalty are often as pathological as they are amazing and confusing. "We don't want a police state!" cry some of these self-appointed "protectors" of our democracy, and simultaneously they proceed as though equipped with radar and divining rods to locate and ferret out the "dangerous thoughts." This expression of political prejudice has as deep a psychopathological connotation as any other form of prejudice.

Most Americans are seriously troubled by the very thought that some can hang others on suspicion of being disloyal; they are disturbed that some seem ready to forego our traditional concept that a man is considered innocent until he declares himself or is proved to be guilty. Crippling judgments based upon mere rumor and suspicion are horrifying to all who believe in liberty. Where is the line to be drawn? And who is to say?

It is not surprising, therefore, that earnest people fear for our democracy; fear that the political atmosphere, in becoming so ominous, will soon rob our country of the healthy, valuable, and invigorating experience which the free interplay of competing ideas provides. In calmer moments, most Americans readily agree with the 1945 United States Supreme Court decision (*Board of Education* vs. *Burnette*): "If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein." Is it not time to restore the calm?

Earlier, we stressed the need for integrity in examining the situation in which we find ourselves. We must now add courage. For without integrity and without courage, the battle is lost. Professional men and women devoted to the study and service of man, as an individual and as a social being, have a heavy responsibility. It may not make us popular to cry out against the social, economic, and political problems which undermine mental health. For some of us, to do so might even jeopardize our sources of livelihood, but we cannot escape

reality. And a conscience does exist. We can, of course, fall by the wayside into a comfortable bed of rationalizations—a tempting "choice" for some. But there are many who wish to make the fight, who know that mental health and a truly functioning democracy are interdependent, who want to work to insure both.

While these problems know no boundary lines and involve citizens at local, state, national, and international levels, a good place for most of us to concentrate our efforts is in the very community in which we live. It is at the community level that the everyday problems of men, women, and children exist. It is there that the battles of bread and starvation, warmth and cold, health and sickness, joy and tears, love and hate, are fought. It is in the community that, in the final analysis, the battle for democracy and mental health will be won or lost.

Very well, what can we do? As professionals, there is a great deal of education, leading to constructive action, that we can promote within our own agencies and professional organizations. As individual citizens, we can join hands with other citizens, professionals and non-professionals, in common undertakings. While much could be said about "letters to Congressmen," "passing resolutions," and the like, all of which are highly desirable, it is perhaps best that we consider certain aspects of what we can do in the community:

1. We must broaden our own horizons and embrace a much wider and deeper understanding of the interacting roles played by man and his physical, social, political, and economic environment.

2. We must talk the language of the people around us. We must speak plainly to our fellow citizens who, though they may not have our psychiatric knowledge, nor understand our terminology, are nonetheless as intelligent and as eager as we are to do something about these problems. It is just as easy to say "conscience" as it is to say "conflict with the superego or ego-ideal!" In fact, it is much easier.

3. Together with others, we must initiate and promote a community-wide education program. Such a program has as its objective an informed and active citizenry with a better understanding of human behavior and the social, economic, and political setting in which that behavior takes place. More specifically, what is wanted is that the men and women of a community will have an accurate picture of what their community life really is, how it functions or fails to function, why things are as they are, know what might be done about

their problems, decide on a course of constructive action—and carry it out!

Such an understanding is best achieved when it is centered about a community-wide group discussion program. The group discussion process is one of the most effective methods whereby people can really come to grips with their problems; cut through the barrage of double-talk and confusing propaganda which besiege them on all social issues; learn for themselves what the problem is; see its implications and connections with other social problems; consider various proposed solutions; select the most effective solution for the particular group to undertake; and, finally, map out an action program to do something about the problem.

Why is this so?

The social institutions and practices of men evolve slowly. At all times, they relate to each other in a state of temporary or relative equilibrium. In this general dynamic process, demands and concessions take place; difficulties are by-passed or aggravated; but ever the objective is to achieve a relative balance in relation to the other compartments of the social order. Change is a constant and normal phenomenon of social life and growth; and it is in the process of social change that old balances are upset, resulting in brief or prolonged maladjustments because of the tendency of social patterns to resist change.

This very character of social life—the struggle between the forces of change and the forces of resistance to change—makes possible and begets social problems. When members of a group are aware that their values are threatened by a social situation, a social problem arises. The group may try to do something about the problem, but the decision to solve the problem often raises other problems: It is difficult, or almost impossible, at times, to isolate accurately the real cause or causes of a problem; the cause may be known, but to remove it may threaten accepted group practices and institutions; and so on. Further, there is the need to distinguish between a really effective solution of a social problem, and the more commonly employed palliative measures.

Truly effective solutions are frequently rejected because often they demand fundamental changes; and change and a given *status quo* stand at opposite poles in the social setting. Nevertheless, unless the

problem is solved, social tensions, which are the natural derivatives of social problems, may and do give rise to social conflicts.

There is an obvious need, therefore, for a real understanding of the problem, in order to arrive at and carry out an effective solution. But men are primarily emotional rather than rational animals. In trying to understand their lives and their positions in the social scheme, they are victimized by emotional blind spots and mental mechanisms which are the common lot of all human beings. Most people tend to select information which suits their preconceived notions, and reject all else as propaganda. They find it more convenient to generalize about things or people than to particularize and individualize. Many view the world through sets of stereotypes and prejudices which serve certain of their psychological needs. Such prejudices are not easily dislodged by "appeals to reason" or "appeals to ethics." People tend to rationalize their attitudes and behavior; they find it very easy to project their own personal difficulties upon others, to blame others for their own shortcomings and troubles in life. Men are also highly suggestible, and tend to act in what they view to be their own self-interests.

In such a setting, men, as individuals, and even more so when they are in a crowd or a large audience, become easy targets for skillful propagandists. For when men are together in crowds, their emotional blind spots become accentuated; there is a reduction of critical judgment; their capacity for self-control and self-restraint is greatly diminished; and they become willing or unwitting tools, in periods of social unrest, for the scoundrel and the demagogue.

The propagandist, employing a variety of techniques, can and does "do wonders with a crowd." Now, propaganda may be for a good cause, just as well as for a bad cause; but it must be noted that the effect of propaganda, being primarily an exploitation of the emotions of men, can last just so long as it takes for propagandists for the opposite side to get before the same crowd or audience.

Group discussion avoids the pitfalls of propaganda. Group discussion is an orderly process of group thinking participated in for a clear purpose. Many points of view and many sources of information are brought into play as opposed to the single source of information or single point of view which is so often the case when a speaker addresses an audience, or when a writer sets forth his ideas. The discussion process permits the members of the group to air all their

doubts and complaints, as well as their opinions—in itself a wholesome mental hygiene process. The members of a discussion group, because of their collective approach to a common problem, develop an identification with each other and a bond of unity which usually is highly desirable in any group situation. Participants, since they are called upon to comment upon the opinions of others, as well as express their own views, are compelled, by the very nature of the process, to re-examine their previously held views and test them against the views of other members of the group. Moreover, individual experiences are shared with the group; the evaluation of experiences and opinions is done by all the members, together. Interest in the problem is stimulated; opposing views are heard, and often for the first time, in a tolerant (permissive) environment. Finally, when the group undertakes to do something about the problem discussed, the feelings of isolation, inadequacy, and futility give way to hope and purposeful planning for constructive social action.

Group discussion, then, is not only rooted in democracy, it is practice in democracy. It calls for reflective thought rather than emotional display. It is of paramount importance as a necessary preliminary to constructive civic action.

Let us again note that the political climate of today is troubled. Nevertheless, the social, economic, and political problems which undermine mental health must be solved. Increasingly, psychiatrists are calling attention to this point. In a personal communication to the author, Dr. Nathan Ackerman says:

> While the internal dynamics of the personality determine the specificity of the psychiatric disability, the over-all effect of a harsh, restrictive, frustrating social reality is a weakening of the integrative powers of the personality, with a resulting handicap both in coping with intra-psychic conflict and in adaptive dealing with the external situation. This has relevance, therefore, for the achievement and maintenance of the mental health of everyone.

Similarly, Dr. William C. Menninger recently remarked:

> Psychiatry is a medical science, but it is also a social science. The psychiatrist, more than the physician in any other medical discipline, must concern himself with the social situation of the patient . . .
>
> As a group of scientific experts who are interested in and concerned with the way men think and feel and behave, it is only logical to assume that these social ills might be among our very special concerns.[3]

[3] William C. Menninger, "The Role of Psychiatry in the World Today," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CIV, No. 3 (September, 1947), 155.

We must face the fact that there are many who like things exactly as they are. The *status quo* suits them; if there is to be change, the change must be backward in the direction of what they glibly call "the good old days." Any other kind of change, or proposal for change, is met by rigid resistance and a tirade of name-calling.

Name-calling is indeed a common indulgence, as well as last resort for those who have nothing more constructive to offer. Recently, Justice William A. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court warned, "At home we must put an end to the shameful practice of branding everyone a Communist who espouses a liberal reform or promotes a program for the underprivileged." And New Mexico's Senator Carl A. Hatch remarked, "I have observed through a somewhat long life that when a man lacks argument, when he lacks logic, when he lacks reason, when he lacks justification for a bad cause, he resorts to personal abuse and name-calling."

The good Senator certainly knows whereof he speaks. Many decent citizens, out of fear of being called a "red" or a "radical" or a "communist," are being terrorized into a mute state of passive paralysis, a self-degrading condition which, for them at least, seems more expedient than the positive experience of integrity, powered by courage, translated into constructive social action.

As professional men and women, we are presented with a soul-searching challenge. Can we meet it?

NATIONAL PLANNING FOR THE CHRONICALLY ILL

By Milton Terris, M.D.

In October, 1947, the American Hospital Association, American Medical Association, American Public Health Association, and American Public Welfare Association adopted a joint statement of recommendations on "Planning for the Chronically Ill." This statement of policy concluded on the following note:

The problem of chronic disease presents many aspects—prevention, research, medical care in home, hospital and nursing home, and convalescence and rehabilitation.

Undue emphasis on any one aspect would be unwise, uneconomical, and ineffectual. For example, to concentrate on the provision of medical care without paying serious attention to prevention and research would postpone for many years any basic attack on the problem. On the other hand, it is impossible to focus sole attention on research because of the very urgent need for medical care. Likewise, to provide hospital beds for chronic disease without making nursing home facilities available would result in many beds being occupied by patients who do not need hospital care. Too great an emphasis on nursing homes would deprive many patients of the specialized hospital care which is necessary for their improvement. Failure to plan adequately for home care or for convalescent care and rehabilitation would defeat the purpose of the program—to maintain and restore the individual as a self-supporting productive member of his community.

There is a great need for coöperation and coördination of the numerous agencies concerned with chronic disease; health, welfare, and education departments, hospitals, medical societies, medical schools, social agencies, rehabilitation services, nursing homes, etc. In some communities this coordination has been achieved through the establishment of central planning and coördinating bodies which study the various aspects of the problem, make the facts known to authorities and the public, stimulate needed services, assist in securing necessary facilities, and act as information centers for patients, physicians, and health and social agencies.

The total problem of chronic disease is not a series of separate problems which can be solved one by one, but rather a complex of interrelated problems which require simultaneous solution. It is recommended, therefore, that coördinated and comprehensive planning be undertaken at all levels in order to achieve effective action to meet the challenge of chronic illness.

The origin of national, coördinated planning in this field may be traced back to 1940, when a committee representing the American Hospital Association and the American Public Welfare Association prepared a joint report on "Institutional Care of the Chronically Ill." In 1945 the two organizations participated in the drafting of a model hospital licensing law which included provisions for the inspection and licensure of nursing homes. The American Public Welfare Association, whose members are confronted every day with the social havoc caused by chronic illness, then took the initiative in proposing that concerted efforts be made at the national level to cope with the problem of chronic disease. Accordingly, representatives of appropriate committees of the American Public Welfare Association, American Hospital Association, and American Public Health Association met on November 2, 1946, and, after indicating the interest and point of view of their respective organizations, attempted to develop an approach which would be both useful and feasible.

One suggestion was that a national voluntary organization be established in the field of chronic illness. It was decided, however, that at the moment the most important need was for a sound and comprehensive guide to planning for the chronically ill. In several states and localities, action was already being taken; yet it was clear that in some instances the measures adopted were inconsistent with sound practice. In several states, for example, chronic disease hospitals were being planned in areas remote from medical centers and general hospitals and were being restricted to the indigent population. Almshouses were being leased to individuals for operation as private nursing homes or were being converted to public nursing homes, in some instances without adequate safeguards to assure good care. The problems created by the mushroom growth of proprietary nursing homes were also being felt by many communities.

Accordingly, a working group was appointed to prepare a preliminary draft of a comprehensive statement on planning for the chronically ill. It was also resolved to request the American Medical Association to participate, in view of the important role of the practicing physician in the care of chronically ill patients. The American Medical Association accepted this invitation and in a short period of time became actively involved in the work of the Joint Committee on Chronic Disease.

The working group held several meetings and prepared a draft

statement which was submitted to the Joint Committee of the four organizations in January, 1947. The document was subsequently amended in accordance with the decisions of the committee and was then adopted by a mail vote. During the summer of 1947 final approval was obtained from the governing bodies of the four associations, and the statement, "Planning for the Chronically Ill," was published in the October, 1947, issue of *Public Welfare* and simultaneously in the journals of the other participating organizations.

A number of basic principles were adopted by the Joint Committee as a guide to planning for the chronically ill. Some of these may be stated briefly as follows:

1. The basic approach to chronic disease must be preventive. Otherwise, the problems created by chronic diseases will grow greater with time, and the hope of any substantial decline in their incidence and severity will be postponed for many years.

2. Vastly expanded medical research in chronic disease is necessary if further advances are to be made in the prevention and treatment of chronic disease. The greatest emphasis in research must be placed on those diseases which are the most important causes of death and disability.

3. There is a great need for research in the social and psychological aspects of chronic illness. The influence of these factors in the development of specific chronic diseases needs to be more fully determined, while the effect of chronic illness on the individual's social relationships needs further study. Administrative research is necessary to determine the most effective methods of providing services for the chronically ill.

4. In the past, the approach to chronic illness has been primarily concerned with institutional care for advanced stages of disease. There is need for a new orientation which places major emphasis on the early stages of chronic illness with a view to preventing it, or at least delaying, the progress of the disease process.

5. Diagnosis and treatment of illness at its inception are essential to the control of chronic disease. Competent medical supervision, if brought into play early enough, can have an important preventive effect. The barriers to early competent diagnosis and treatment must be removed.

6. The concept of medical care must be broadened to include the social factors which play a vital role in the progress of chronic illness.

The physician must draw on community resources in order to change the patient's environment to prevent recurrence and breakdown. Occupational retraining and job placement are essential therapeutic and preventive measures.

7. The care of the chronically ill is inseparable from general medical care. While it presents certain special aspects, it cannot be medically isolated without running serious danger of deterioration of quality of care and medical stagnation. A system of home and office care for the chronically ill separate and distinct from community medical care services is unwise as well as impractical, and hospital facilities for long-term illness should be built in the very closest relation to teaching centers and general hospitals.

8. Facilities for the care of the chronically ill should be planned for the community as a whole and not for the indigent alone. In this way, a greater degree of financial stability will be achieved because of the additional income from those able to pay, and it will be possible to furnish a higher quality of care for all.

9. Nursing homes, both private and public, should be brought under state licensure laws with minimum standards, not only for physical equipment and sanitation, but also for medical and nursing supervision and for such social aspects as privacy, individual attention, recreation and occupational therapy, and cheerful and homelike surroundings.

10. County homes should be converted into public nursing homes only if their physical facilities are adequate, if they are within reasonable distance of general hospitals with which close medical relationships are maintained, and if the responsible authorities are prepared to meet minimum standards. Admission of patients able to pay will not only improve the financial position of the public nursing home, but will help free it from the almshouse tradition.

11. Planned convalescence and rehabilitation need to be developed on a much wider scale. They have an important and hitherto neglected role in maintaining and restoring the chronically ill as independent and self-supporting members of the community.

It is difficult to evaluate the full effect of "Planning for the Chronically Ill." Even prior to publication it was influential in convincing several of the participants in our discussions to attempt to change existing plans in their states for chronic disease hospitals to be built at a considerable distance from medical centers.

After publication, requests for reprints came from numerous individuals and organizations. The *Journal of the American Medical Association* received more than three thousand requests for reprints from individual physicians, an unexpectedly large number. The American Public Health Association received requests from such groups as the Baltimore Council of Social Agencies, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, the Louisiana League for Public Health, the Central Service for the Chronically Ill in Philadelphia, the Texas Division of the American Cancer Society, the Connecticut State Department of Health, the Missouri State Department of Health, the health department of Nassau County, New York, and the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council on Medical Care Needs.

In December, 1947, the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers recommended that the United States Public Health Service provide consultation to state chronic disease services and that,

> Since joint planning for the chronically ill has already been undertaken by the American Hospital Association, American Medical Association, American Public Health Association, and American Public Welfare Association it is recommended by the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers that state departments of health take the initiative in bringing together representatives of state hospital associations, state medical societies, and state welfare organizations in order to achieve effective coördinated action in the prevention and care of chronic illness.

A similar resolution was adopted with enthusiasm at the Annual Conference of the American Public Welfare Association in December, 1947.

The secretary of the Joint Committee was invited to consult with the California State Department of Public Health, which had been directed by the legislature to conduct an investigation of chronic diseases. They are now carrying out this study and are developing methods of obtaining morbidity data on a current basis which will have national significance in planning chronic disease programs. We have since been informed that the precedent established by the four national associations was helpful in facilitating close coördination of professional organizations in the California survey.

Why were our four associations able to achieve such coöperation on the national level? In the first place, with the progressive aging of the population, the members of our organizations were experiencing an ever increasing burden of chronic illness. Welfare administrators,

who had long recognized that chronic disease is a major cause of dependency, were having increased difficulty in securing funds and facilities adequate to meet the needs of the chronically ill; hospital administrators and practicing physicians were faced with a growing number of long-term patients; and public health officials were discovering that their conquest of many of the acute communicable diseases had brought chronic disease into sharp relief as the major cause of death and disability. It was therefore imperative to bring about constructive action in this field.

Another reason was the availability of staff services on a part-time basis to carry on the necessary research, to plan meetings, and to coordinate the work. Finally, the participants realized that there were many things on which they agreed and which definitely needed to be said at this time. They felt, therefore, that it would be wise to concentrate discussion on these areas during the early stages of their joint activity. Thus extensive discussion of methods of financing services for the chronically ill was deferred, although it was recognized in the joint statement that "prolonged illness exhausts the financial resources of many patients, necessitating payment from tax funds for their care."

The statement also indicates that "means must be found to remove the basic economic barriers to early diagnosis and therapy." The American Public Health Association believes this can best be accomplished by a national medical care program financed through social insurance supplemented by general taxation, or by general taxation alone. As is well known, both the American Hospital Association and the American Medical Association are of the opinion that this problem can be met by voluntary insurance together with government assistance for certain population groups.

It is certainly true that removal of the basic economic barriers to early diagnosis and therapy is a most important and essential aspect of planning for the chronically ill. Yet to have attempted to resolve our different viewpoints on general medical care within the confines of the Joint Committee on Chronic Disease would have rendered more difficult the task of achieving coördination.

The question of specific agency responsibility for state and local programs was deferred by the Joint Committee. We were fully aware that in some instances there exist occasional conflicts among official agencies concerning jurisdiction over various programs. To our way

of thinking, such jurisdictional disputes in the field of chronic disease are not only unfortunate, but result in narrow, onesided, and ineffective approaches to the problem. That is why we placed such great stress on the importance of coördination of agencies—of health, welfare, and education departments as well as nongovernmental bodies, such as social agencies, hospitals, medical societies, medical schools, nursing homes, and so forth. The sincere efforts of all participants in the Joint Committee to achieve genuine coöperation has resulted in an effective working relationship which promises well for our future plans.

The Joint Committee on Chronic Disease believe that one of the most important steps which must now be taken is the development of coördinated planning at the state and local levels. They are fully aware that unless this occurs the excellent principles which they have enunciated may never be fulfilled in practice.

They would like also to continue the Joint Committee as a national center for chronic disease planning. Many areas in our policy statement need further study and development. At a recent meeting of the Committee a preliminary listing of these included studies and reports on preventive health examinations, planned convalescence and rehabilitation of the chronically ill, chronic disease wings of general hospitals, community referral services, licensure methods and standards, conversion of county homes to public nursing homes, and home care of the chronically ill.

It is clear that to carry out even a part of this program will require a full-time technical staff. At the present time, part-time help is being given by personnel from the American Public Health Association and the American Medical Association, but more assistance is needed. It is our hope that we shall be able to obtain a full-time staff to carry on studies in chronic disease and to assist the various groups in the states and localities who will be planning and operating programs for the chronically ill.

To date, coördinated national planning for the chronically ill has been conducted by professional associations only. The discussions of the section on chronic disease and the aging process at the National Health Assembly present an opportunity to achieve concerted planning on a national level by all interested groups, lay as well as professional. The fact that the general public—farm, labor, women's,

church, and many other organizations—will take an active part in the discussions is an important development, for the health of the people is truly the concern of the people themselves. While professional workers and technicians can advise and give counsel, it is the public which will make the final decisions on the kind of program it needs and desires to meet the challenge of chronic illness.

STATE PLANNING FOR THE CHRONICALLY ILL

By John J. Bourke, M.D., and Hildegarde Wagner

THE PURPOSE of the New York State Health Preparedness Commission, which was in existence from 1938 to early 1947, was to formulate and suggest methods for implementing a long-range health program. It was established because the multiplicity of well-intentioned health and medical care legislative proposals, if adopted, would have created a piecemeal, uncoördinated pattern in the state. In addition to legislators, the Commission included hospital, medical, public health, public welfare, industrial, labor, and public representation. During its lifetime it considered and made recommendations relative to many health and medical care problems and often expressed opinions on pending legislation. It was ever mindful of the implications of these problems to the individual and his community, sensitive to the social and human factors, cognizant of the various interests involved. As a consequence, the Commission made progress and commanded public respect and confidence.

Therefore, when the Commission embarked on its study of chronic disease, exclusive of tuberculosis and mental illness, it was assured of the assistance of the many interested agencies and experts and was well known locally through its previous studies involving "grass roots" contacts. Since the necessity for planning for the chronically ill had been continuously attested to by physicians, hospital administrators, nurses, public welfare officials, clergymen, and the general public, the Health Preparedness Commission felt that it could rely on their continuing support. Furthermore, it profited from the facts assembled in its previous studies of: (1) patients discharged from wards of general hospitals; (2) medical care provided in county home infirmaries; (3) medical services for the indigent and the medically indigent; (4) appraisals of health and medical care needs and resources in selected counties; and (5) the adequacy of hospital facilities and medical personnel, including the distribution of specialists. Both directly and indirectly, these studies emphasized and reiterated the need for pro-

viding more adequate and better coördinated facilities and services for the care of the chronically ill.

Because of the vastness and the ramifications of the problem, the Commission wanted a clear understanding of its many implications before taking steps toward its solution. Therefore, in September, 1944, an informal conference was called of individuals eminently qualified by background and experience to consider the need for and the means of formulating a state program for the care of the chronically ill. Included were Dr. George Baehr, now president of the New York Academy of Medicine; Dr. Ernst P. Boas, author of *The Unseen Plague—Chronic Disease;* Elsie Bond, secretary of the Commission and assistant secretary of the State Charities Aid Association; Dr. Louis I. Dublin, vice president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; Mary C. Jarrett, author of *Chronic Disease in New York City;* the state commissioners of health, mental hygiene, and social welfare; and representation from the State Hospital Association, State Medical Society, and the medical schools.

The official statement of this conference confirmed the need for a program and suggested principles as a guide in planning. The Commission accepted the statement, voted to proceed with the planning, and selected a staff for this purpose.

It should be noted that the composition of this temporary conference and of the later general advisory committee for the planning was not identical, although several persons were included in both. This was necessary because, in addition to some experts, it was essential to include geographical and "grass roots" representation in the latter.

The working staff consisted of a physician, a medical social worker, a lawyer, a statistician, and stenographic personnel, with supplementary services provided by the organized departments of the state, as requested. The staff gathered considerable material for later use as the basis for consideration, judgments, and final conclusions. These data eventually were released as monographs and were published subsequently as chapters in three successive reports of the Commission in 1945, 1946, and early in 1947. This trilogy comprises the official reports documenting and delineating the state program for the care of the chronically ill. By releasing the material in three sections, the staff was saved from the pressure of too immediate "deadlines," the

reader could assimilate the material more gradually, and the reports were effective as a continuing educational medium.

The range of subjects and the emphasis on the social aspects in these studies are indicated by their titles:

1. "Regional Aspects of Planning for the Care of the Chronically Ill"
2. "Prevalence and Trend of Chronic Illness"
3. "Medical Care for Chronic Illness among Relief Clients in Nassau County"
4. "Care of the Chronically Ill between Hospital and Home"
5. "Care of the Chronically Ill: the Local Public Welfare Viewpoint"
6. "Care of the Chronically Ill: the Hospital Viewpoint"
7. "Official Planning in Other States for the Care of the Chronically Ill"
8. "A Study of Nursing Homes in New York State"
9. "Licensure of Nursing Homes in Other States"
10. "The Regulation of Nursing Homes in New York State"

The Commission, in line with its long-held philosophy that any program proposed must ultimately be applied at the local level, considered community resources and local conditions and reactions of primary importance in formulating the plan. Every effort was made, by correspondence and personal visits, to discuss the problem with, and invite the suggestions of, public health and public welfare officials, practicing physicians, hospital administrators, nurses, and voluntary agencies both in New York State and in other states. Thus the Commission profited through the gracious coöperation of persons who are actually confronted daily with the problem of caring properly for these patients.

For example, local commissioners of public welfare and the administrators of general hospitals in New York State, through arrangements with their respective state associations, were invited to present data and to express their views in writing concerning the existing provisions for the care of the chronically ill and the possible steps by which they might be improved. Subsequently, this information, incorporated into monographs, was circulated for criticisms, suggestions, and editorial corrections among those who had provided the source material. The monographs stimulated interest, particularly at the local level, enlisted support for the eventual program, and gained good will. Although local effort could be effective to a certain point, it became apparent that state leadership would also be required.

The general advisory committee for this planning was not ap-

pointed at the outset, for several reasons. It had been concluded that the staff, with competent outside advice, should first assemble a body of information which, in addition to any data subsequently requested, would form the basis for the deliberations of the committee. This saved the valuable time of the potential committee members, made them more willing to serve, and reserved their efforts for the major task—the formulation of the program. It was not until the spring of 1946 that the advisory committee was appointed, a year after the staff had begun work and only after it was well grounded in the subject matter, had explored the field for data, and had prepared the first of the monographs for distribution. It is important to remember that these monographs were then tentative, suggestive, and subject to revision.

The advisory committee had representation from public and voluntary hospitals; local and state welfare, health, and mental hygiene officials; the medical and nursing professions; and the medical schools. In addition, an advisory subcommittee on medical education and research, composed of the deans of four medical schools, and an advisory subcommittee on nursing care, representing the several branches of nursing, assisted in the planning. The Commission staff at all times maintained close working relationships with these committees and their individual members.

The program for the care of the chronically ill, as finally published, resulted from three successive processings: First, the staff wrote a preliminary report for consideration of the general advisory committee. Secondly, the advisory committee, with many revisions, submitted this draft as its report to the Commission itself. Finally, the Commission, with some amendments, approved the report of the advisory committee and submitted it to the Governor and the legislature.

From the viewpoint of diversification of participation, these factors seem important: (1) the Commission itself had broad representation; (2) its activities were always conceived to elicit the interest, coöperation, and support of persons in many fields from all areas of the state and both from official and from voluntary agencies; (3) planning for the chronically ill was undertaken only after experts had appraised the need for, and potentialities of, such a program; (4) the supporting material, on which the ultimate plan was based, presented local attitudes, opinions, and suggestions, as well as hard statistical facts and descriptions of similar efforts in other states; (5) the individuals and

agencies supplying these supporting data had ample opportunity to suggest revisions and editorial changes; (6) the advisory committee and subcommittees had broad representation and were provided with such working materials as the monographs in logical, well-ordered form; (7) the staff itself did the detail work, thus reserving the efforts of the committees for the difficult and tedious task of actual planning; (8) the ultimate plan resulted from the successive, critical reviews of several groups.

When the plan was ready for publication, the newspapers used most of the complete text of the release given them and amplified their writeups with interviews with local persons qualified to comment. Feature articles appeared, written by the newspaper staffs. Since newspapers tend to print what interests their readers, it seems evident that most persons, either in their immediate families or among their relatives, know of chronically ill individuals for whom proper care is not available, regardless of their ability to pay for service.

The proposed program is envisaged as applicable to all the chronically ill, regardless of ability or inability to pay for care. It is based on the premise that local communities, agencies, medical personnel, and facilities must bear the major responsibility for providing care to the chronically ill, with the state providing leadership, some funds, and an agency to act as the catalyst. Furthermore, since practicing physicians will always bear the full brunt of responsibility for the care of these patients, the major aim of the program is to aid them in meeting this obligation.

In summary form, the recommendations comprising the program are as follows:

1. That a state agency, assisted by a representative advisory committee, be made responsible for developing, coördinating, and administering a program of education, research, rehabilitation, and the improvement of facilities and services for the care of chronic illness, in coöperation with both state and local official and voluntary medical, health and social agencies
2. That the program be decentralized on a regional basis and that the state develop and support a chronic disease hospital facility of modest size for each region. Each such hospital would be closely affiliated with the medical teaching center for the purposes of education, research, and the provision of service to other hospitals, related facilities, and practicing physicians in the region. Each

region would be served by a representative advisory committee

3. That the bulk of care for the chronically ill needing hospitalization be provided in designated wings or floors of local general hospitals
4. That all medical and related institutions caring for the chronically ill be required to meet standards of facilities and care formulated by the state
5. That public homes caring for the chronically ill be required to meet minimum standards, be a part of, or affiliated with, general hospitals and admit persons of all economic strata; that the potentiality for rehabilitation of all chronically ill and disabled persons in public homes be determined by skilled personnel and that rehabilitation services be provided for those adjudged capable of benefiting therefrom
6. That the state share in the expense of care and rehabilitation of chronically ill persons unable to pay for such care, in whole or in part, in general hospitals and related institutions
7. That care of the chronically ill in their homes be expanded by providing bedside nursing care and housekeeping aides through local health and welfare agencies, both voluntary and public
8. That special studies and recommendations be made relative to the problems of chronic alcoholism and of persons suffering from mild mental and emotional disturbances associated with aging

In brief, the program is designed to serve persons of all economic strata, to provide state leadership and financial assistance, and to stimulate the coördination of state and local effort in promoting educational, preventive, diagnostic, treatment, rehabilitative, and research facilities and services for meeting the problem of chronic illness.

The recently established New York State Joint Hospital Survey and Planning Commission has, among other duties, the responsibility for implementing the Federal Hospital Survey and Construction Act in the state and for further developing the program for the care of the chronically ill. It will soon release a blueprint for the development of a coördinated hospital program, presenting suggestions for the construction of facilities and for a flow of services and working relationships between hospitals of various sizes and competence. This, of course, will affect the service for the chronically as well as the acutely

ill. The concept of service on a regional basis, suggested by the Health Preparedness Commission and others, has been adopted as a basis for this planning, with a medical school and its teaching hospitals as the focal point of each region.

The planning in each of these regions is carried on by a representative regional hospital planning council, served by a professionally qualified, part-time, paid secretary. In considering the construction of new facilities, these councils have recommended steps in keeping with the previously described chronic disease care program. Although the state government has not yet made appropriations or built the hospital and research centers in each region, there is constant discussion of the interrelationships of chronic disease care, hospital planning, and public health organization. By every indication, this should result in providing modern facilities and services of high quality, yet avoid duplication of facilities.

Several counties are planning hospital units. Each will include general and chronic disease hospital wings, and a health center for housing the full-time county public health department. To bring the benefits of medical and social science closer to the family and to bridge the gap between scientific knowledge and its application, the family physician, public health nurse, and medical social worker should be encouraged to work as a team. Such coördinated planning and teamwork should lessen the need for hospital and other institutional care. It should promote the continuity of care between hospital and home which is so essential in restoring patients to self-sufficiency and a happy, productive life.

The place of care of a chronically ill person should be selected on the basis of his medical need—at home, in the hospital, in an institution intermediate between hospital and home, or in a succession of these places, as needed.

During an acute illness or an exacerbation of a chronic illness, medical services and judgments tend to be primary concerns both of the physician and of the patient. As the need for this more dramatic type of care lessens, it is followed by a tedious, prolonged convalescence or long-term nursing care. It is then that the patient becomes increasingly aware of his economic situation, his morale, his home, and the persons in his immediate environment. It is a shifting scene in which the dominance of the medical considerations declines and the social fac-

tors gradually assume equal or prevailing importance. The need for teamwork among physician, nurse, and social worker and the necessity for the continuity of care are obvious.

In planning medical services—whether for the acutely or the chronically ill, for the out-patient or the homebound or the hospitalized—paramount attention must, and should, be centered on the individual and his family. Facilities and services, however elaborate architecturally and scientifically, will never be used fully unless their personnel is sympathetic and understanding. Therefore, in formulating plans and in providing services we must have and impart good faith, good will, and a respect for human dignity.

THE CHOICE FOR AMERICAN YOUTH

By Bernice Bridges

IN THIS DEMOCRACY which is dependent upon thinking, well-informed, articulate citizens, we are troubled because far too many young people, like their elders, do very little real thinking about the social problems of our world. But we often neglect the fact that many young people do deal soberly and realistically with social issues. This occasionally leads them to ask questions which are embarrassing to adults, or which adults would prefer to have unasked.

I believe that the majority of our young people are stanch supporters of democracy, but thinking young people want social and economic and political democracy for all people. Furthermore, thinking young Americans are occasionally better inclined than their elders to accept responsibility for the errors we make. I heard one group of young adults reject any such idea as a "they" who commit the wrong while "we" are innocent bystanders. Said this group, "In a democracy, it is we—all of us—who have to take the responsibility."

When we know we have young Americans of this caliber, we need to take stock, not just of political ideologies which involve choice, but of other, more obscure choices. The crux of the question is: are decisions to be made by adults, or by young people, or by both together?

Let us consider first what young people want. Why are youth movements created? Youth groups want all young people, regardless of race, creed, or economic status, to have an opportunity for as much education as they are capable of taking; they want this education to prepare them for the business of living with other human beings. They want to be assured of jobs which give them both economic security and the sense of doing something useful. They want opportunities for the satisfying use of leisure time. They want, for all people, decent housing, health services, and the love and happiness which come from satisfying family relationships and from social companionship.

Many young people believe that there are spiritual values which

must undergird human relationships, but they want to find the values which people can live by every day. Many of these thoughtful young Americans think of themselves as citizens of the world. They want to go and see, to get acquainted, to try to understand.

One group of sixteen- to twenty-one-year-olds recently said, "We want a coöperative society but daily we are being educated for a competitive society which we don't want." They were talking about their homes, churches, schools, and leisure-time activities, all contributing to the development of competitive attitudes.

Young people of all ages want to be participating citizens now. We have all heard repeatedly the remark which was made by a young Australian at a recent conference. He said, "We shall soon be asked to take over responsibilities for which we will have had no preparation."

Of course, there are other important elements in the development of youth movements, including adults who help young people organize in order to use the youth movement for purposes of indoctrination. The single youth movements established by all totalitarian governments are flagrant examples of this use. As a matter of fact, the adult-sponsored, youth-serving organizations in the United States exist because various groups of adults had a set of ideals or behavior patterns which they wanted to pass on to young people. In my judgment, the safety valve in our situation is the fact that many different groups of adults interest themselves in young people. I hope the day will never come when we shall have but one youth program, either youth initiated or adult sponsored.

Among the world-wide youth movements is the World Federation of Democratic Youth which grew out of the International Youth Conference held in London in November, 1945, in which twenty-one young people from the United States participated. The World Federation of Democratic Youth has its headquarters in Paris. Any national or local youth group can affiliate by paying a fee prorated on the number of its members. The membership and leadership of the Federation is definitely in the young adult age grouping. They have a secretariat of this same age. There is a council on which the United States holds, but does not fill, eight places.

The Federation publishes a magazine, *World Youth,* in four different languages. It has concerned itself with problems of young peo-

ple in colonial nations and has sent study commissions to Germany, India, Africa, etc. It conducted the International Youth Festival held in Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1947 in which, for a month, a weekly average of some six thousand young people from approximately seventy different countries participated. The majority of those attending were from the Slavic states, but there were also young people from Western nations, including the United Kingdom and the United States. Some of these were definitely not followers of the communist ideology. They were there observing thoughtfully what was happening.

In a festival to which were invited young people of nations having conflicting ideologies, none missed the obvious fact that the democracies made no effort to display the products of a democratic society.

Right now,[1] some members of the Federation secretariat are in South America preparing for a conference. They plan to hold a conference of labor youth in Europe in the summer of 1948, and again to promote participation in youth work projects, such as the well-known Yugoslav Youth Railway, the rebuilding of Lidice, etc. This organization is very much alive and is carrying on an active program.

When the twenty-one Americans returned from the 1945 International Youth Conference, having helped to create the World Federation of Democratic Youth, it was their hope that youth organizations of the United Kingdom, the United States, and other democracies would participate actively so that the Federation should, in fact, become a broadly based, inclusive movement. However, this did not happen. The climate of our country soon changed. The result is that we have no way of knowing whether young adults from countries of conflicting ideologies could have worked out a common program. As the issues between governments have sharpened, the communication between young people has lessened, so that the Federation is a comparatively dead issue with most noncommunist young adult groups of the United States.

Another movement is the International Union of Students which was created at a student conference in Prague in the summer of 1946. It has maintained headquarters and a secretariat in Prague. The young Americans who attended that conference were responsible for the formation of the National Student Association in the United

[1] April, 1948.

States. The National Student Association is composed of representatives of campus bodies throughout the country. Its headquarters is in Madison, Wisconsin.

Relationships between the National Student Association and the International Union of Students are at the same low ebb as those of other organizations with the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The activity of the International Union of Students relating to the changed situation in Czechoslovakia caused the two United States members of the secretariat to resign in protest in March, 1948, resulting in a breakdown of communication.

Another move scheduled the International Youth Conference for London in August, 1948. This is the second conference called by the National Council of Social Service of Great Britain, a national, coordinating organization similar to the National Social Welfare Assembly in the United States. The planning committee, which was appointed at a smaller conference in 1947, is composed of representatives from Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom.

All countries belonging to the United Nations, which have coordinating bodies among national youth organizations, have been invited to send a delegation, two thirds of which is to be young people between eighteen and thirty years of age. By April, 1948, some twenty-five countries had signified their intention of participating.

While nations of Eastern Europe which have national youth organization coördination were invited to this London Conference, none but Czechoslovakia accepted, and that acceptance came before the change in government, so that withdrawal is anticipated.

Whether any continuing relationship will grow out of this conference remains to be seen, but it is assumed that something will be developed. This is an effort to give young people and a limited number of adults of established organizations a chance to work together across international lines on a secular basis regarding matters of common interest.

The question which is unanswerable at present is whether, with such strong adult backing and participation, the young adults of the London Conference will be permitted to discuss the problems which are uppermost in their minds. International conferences are desirable. They add to understanding and extend friendships. But they are too costly financially and too frustrating to young people to be worth while

continuing unless they enable young people to tackle the questions which matter most to them. I should like to think that the London Conference will do just that for the participants. But since, in the face of the world situation, young people may wish to raise questions which make the adults uncomfortable, I shall not attempt to forecast accomplishments.

This question of adult control looms especially large for those of us who had the privilege of attending the World Conference of Christian Youth at Oslo in the summer of 1947. There we witnessed a conference planned carefully to build unity and to avoid controversy. Thus some of us felt that the real life of the conference was in the extracurricular activities where young people of conflicting points of view met in the spirit of their religious convictions to work on problems such as the Netherlands-Indonesian relationships, and held together until they achieved common points of view. These activities were essential; why did they have to be extracurricular?

At the Oslo conference, young Americans led a move to establish a Youth Department and an International Commission, composed of young people, within the World Council of Churches. One of the objectives of this step was that young people should be in a position to take a larger share in determining policies and programs for the next conference.

The National Federation of Catholic College Students and the Newman Clubs, an organization of Catholic students in secular colleges in the United States, are both affiliated with Pax Romana, the international Catholic student movement. At the annual interfederal meeting held by Pax Romana in Belgium early in April of 1948 the serious nature of the student refugee problem was given primary consideration. Aid in the form of scholarships, hostels, clothing, and resettlement will be offered by Pax Romana to refugee students of Europe, now estimated to number twelve thousand.

The Young Christian Workers is an international movement among young adults of the Roman Catholic faith which started twenty-five years ago in Belgium. In this country there are now groups of Young Christian Workers among students and among rural and urban workers. They organize small units, the objective of which is the Christianization of persons with whom the members come in contact. Each works in his own sphere of influence. The organization publishes literature and arranges international exchange of persons.

The International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues has a youth section which, it is anticipated, will be expanded. Its membership comes largely from the upper economic and social strata.

The World Federation of Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations and Jewish Community Centers, with headquarters in New York, is a newer organization. While it is directly concerned with the problems of young people, the international communication has thus far been largely in the hands of adult leadership. However, the American Jewish Youth Commission, sponsored by the National Jewish Welfare Board, has recommended that the American representatives on the World Federation Board include young adults.

Among the world-wide organizations serving youth are some which have up to a century of experience. These include such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, the Junior Red Cross, the Salvation Army, and the International Federation of Youth Hostels, all of which are adult-sponsored youth organizations.

The splendid record of these organizations during the second World War is well known. Their underground activities in occupied countries; the amazing vitality of organizations which were forced to lie dormant or to work underground during years of totalitarian rule, but which rallied and grew to double or treble their former strength as soon as it was possible; and the extensive reconstruction programs of these agencies have all been well publicized.

Most of these world organizations have adult as well as youth members. Of course, the world travel groups and international work projects of the Youth Hostels are primarily designed for young people and interest several hundred United States youth each year. Other organizations conduct periodic international meetings of young people as, for example, the Boy Scout Jamboree and the Girl Scout International Encampment. A number of these agencies conduct exchange plans among adult leaders of youth groups. All are conscious of their responsibility for contributing to the international education of young people.

However, I believe I am accurate in saying that thus far even the young adults have had very little direct participation in the planning and conduct of the international programs of these organizations. Planning and attending world meetings have been the prerogatives of the older, seasoned leadership. Exceptions to this statement may be

found in the student divisions of some of the agencies, such as the Y's. Student groups have traditionally taken more initiative in the affairs of their organizations both here and abroad. The American representatives to the World's Council of YWCA's includes one young adult, and we are told that at their most recent meeting, held in China, considerable support was given to the idea of developing a stronger world relationship among the members who are young workers.

While space does not permit me to describe the youth movements in other countries, it seems pertinent to mention the government-sponsored youth movements which, for example, exist in Eastern European countries, Spain, China, and in Argentina. It is also interesting to note that in certain countries, such as the Scandinavian nations, Belgium, France, and some South American countries, there are adult-sponsored activities for children up to fourteen and, on a more limited scale, for older youth. The point of variation with our own nation is that these countries have active youth movements which are affiliated with political and labor and sports organizations in which adults have very little to say. In a meeting at London in 1947, in which seven nations were represented, the United States was the only country where political youth movements were not an important factor.

Of course, we do have the American Youth in Democratic Action and Young Progressive Citizens of America. We have also the World Federalists and the American Youth for Democracy. But any one of our larger adult-sponsored, youth-serving organizations has a larger membership than the combined memberships of these organizations which have political purposes.

We have secured approval for the establishment of a young adult council within the National Social Welfare Assembly. This, we believe, will make it possible for young people to participate in the Assembly committees and will enable us to let young adults represent their own interests on commissions and committees outside the Assembly. Whether this council will have sufficient autonomy to make action possible and accomplishments satisfying is a moot question.

Secondly, we are encouraging the development of interorganization teen-age youth councils in local communities. We believe these councils can serve several purposes: (1) enable youth from all organizations, schools, and churches to learn to work together and to unite their

efforts on important issues; (2) give opportunity for learning the skills of coöperation and of representation of others' interests; (3) serve as a spokesman group; (4) increase coöperation and understanding beteen youth and adults. This idea is being promoted by publications and by a motion picture entitled *Make Way for Youth.*

A third effort of the Youth Division of the Assembly is the development of a work tool to stimulate local youth and adult discussion and analysis of youth participation in the planning and policy-making of the youth organizations themselves. This statement assumes that young adults are ready to participate with older adults on all affairs. It suggests that there are many aspects of program and policy-making to which teen-age youth and older children are capable of making a useful contribution. It assumes that preparation for participation with adults takes place in good youth group experience. If youngsters belong to groups in which they are encouraged to plan and manage their own group activities, they take the first and important step toward preparing themselves for increasingly larger responsibilities.

Before completing this work tool, we invited a few well-known social scientists to talk with us about the implications of the statement. While they made helpful suggestions, they were most encouraging about the basic idea. In answer to a question as to whether there was danger of giving too much responsibility to young people, Dr. Margaret Mead said that we must be careful to discriminate between things for which young people lack experience simply because they have had no opportunity and things for which they lack the wisdom which may come with longer living. Dr. Laurence Frank cautioned that adults should not toss off on young people problems for which they, themselves, have as yet found no solution. But shedding the problems by tossing them to young people is not what we are recommending. We are talking of situations which adults and young people tackle together.

The choice for American youth is, I believe, dependent upon the choice which will be made by American adults now and in the near future. Youth movements are not all wrong. In fact, they are essential in a society where youth must organize separately to make themselves heard. However, in a real democracy it rather seems that young people should be heard as people, not as youth manipulated by adults, nor as youth pitted against adults.

CRITERIA FOR YOUTH PROGRAMS

By Charles E. Bermingham

I AM CONVINCED that those who work with youth and with organizations which serve youth in America are faced with a new youth movement, or the resurgence of a former movement under several new aspects. I share the opinion of not a few observing people that there is beginning to crystallize in this country a desire on the part of older youth for new organizations and programs of youth, or at least for reorganized and broadened forms of existing organizations and programs. Moreover, I believe that this sixteen- to twenty-five-year-old age group is not only seeking new forms of organized expression, but is likewise attempting to find new emphases in program practices. I believe that this movement, which is now confined to a relatively few of our young people, will catch the imagination of the many. I believe that this new movement, or revival, is now only partly or poorly defined and will seek organizational development within existing patterns or under new forms.

The movement to which I allude is making itself felt in several spheres. Educators, social group workers, and religious leaders are viewing with alarm, or with satisfaction, or with mixed feelings, the evidences of this impact. There is an impression among a growing group of thoughtful young people that their coöperation in things political, social, religious, and educational has been restricted to the point of passivity. There is a conviction among these young people that their competence in the organizations to which they belong should be fairly and reasonably widened. It is also their feeling that they deserve a better role in affairs of wider concern, not omitting political, social, educational, economic, and religious developments. They sense that their present function is restricted by well-meaning elders to the simple role of preparation for future responsibility in these matters.

There are signs which indicate that things are not going to be the same as they were in the period between the wars. The effects of the last war are too deep and serious to allow the American people and American youth to recapture the pleasant ways of the past. There are

too many problems, both within the country and in relation to other countries, which require solution by serious thought and effort on the part of the American people. In a former day, these problems of national and international affairs would have been the chief concern of the older element of our population. Today, there are thousands of young men and women in colleges and universities and in communities across the land who have returned from the experience of war. In 1944 many of them were not even eligible to vote in the presidential election. In 1948 these young people may find it difficult to assume a passive role while major national and international issues are at stake.

Another element which underlies the existence of an actual or potential youth movement is found in developments abroad. A not inconsiderable number of American young people are watching with interest and admiration the youth of Europe attempting to reconstruct their national life and a new social order. The clashes of ideologies, the attempts at democratization, and the establishment of a better social and economic order are processes in which youth abroad are playing vital roles. Whether communist, nationalist, Christian, liberal, or conservative, all forces of political and social action are allocating an important role to youth and youthful leadership. American young people are becoming aware of the type of youth action playing so vital a part on the checkerboard of social, cultural, and political movements in other countries. To believe that the challenge and potentials of this wider field of activity are not inciting American youth to look for similar avenues of expression is both unrealistic and contrary to fact. Those who have had contact with national student programs during the past two or three years and who nave seen the communications and the meetings of students in this country, in Europe, and in South America are aware of the trends. What is happening is of more than passing interest to many students on the American college campus.

At this time one might interpose a series of rhetorical questions with a view to aligning actualities with potentials. These are the questions which I feel many adult youth leaders have posed: To what extent may those interested in the welfare of youth encourage within existing programs a field of expression resulting in social, economic, and political action? Is it necessary for adult counselors to set up a screening process whereby only trustworthy leaders and proper forms

of action may be effectual and effected? Will not organizations or programs of youth and by youth create a disturbing factor, in relation to existing programs for youth or in respect to programs of the total community of which youth is only one element?

First of all, I stand with those who believe that it is psychologically, educationally, and sociologically sound to encourage and promote the widest possible self-determination by young people in their organizations and activities. Moreover, I hold that such organizations of youth and by youth should be encouraged to extend their interest beyond mere personal and group development to that wider field of social action in which their contribution may be reasonably effective. I believe that an extension or adjustment of organization and program within the sixteen- to twenty-five-year-old age group will do no violence to any educational or social group work agency, but rather will furnish it with a new opportunity in the development of those it serves.

The first practical consideration which presents itself to an adult counselor or a youthful leader centers in the clear definition and basic value of the purposes and program of the organized movement. At first glance this seems too obvious to mention, and yet experience has proven that both adult sponsors and young people have been brought into organized programs of and by youth with an exceedingly vague notion of what the program proposes to accomplish. Those who have been plagued with organizations for organizations' sake and nebulous vagaries should conscientiously expose the obscure and the tenuous.

The ideal set of objectives contains those elements which can be grasped by the mind, will appeal to the imagination, and will promote action among that group of young people whose participation is anticipated. With a minimum of study the scope, the purposes, and general lines of action should be perceptible to potential members of the proposed program.

The second area of practical consideration concerns leadership in a program of and by youth. Practically anything that has been written on the strength and weakness of democratic processes in human society can be applied to an organization whose leadership is determined by youth. By its very genus the program presumes that its actual leadership be selected, controlled, and renewed by the will of its membership. This program will depend on the ability of its member-

ship to select energetic and able leaders. Ideal selections will never be fully realized. There will be differences of opinion concerning persons best qualified for leadership. Yet, those who inspect such organizations, whether they be local, regional, or national, must seek positive signs of a sound democratic procedure. This includes some basic program whereby constituents are prepared to select persons best qualified for positions of leadership.

Attention must be given to the problem of representative balance within the organization. Imbalance is observed and consequent undemocratic action obtains where small intensive factions are able to assume strength out of proportion to their members. When this condition is associated with wide policy-making powers in the hands of a small executive group the democratic nature of the organization quickly disappears.

We can bring this whole critical reflection on leadership down to concrete facts. From the days of the American Youth Congress to the present, communistic youth leaders, as well as communistic labor leaders, under specious democratic procedures, have created a disproportionment on the level of representative selection and, having once gained the ascendancy, have placed broad powers in the hands of those who might well be called the "central committee." A typical example of this rigged, but carefully labeled "democratic," procedure, is evidenced in the already discredited International Union of Students with headquarters at Prague.

Finally, we come to a review of those considerations which help in determining the relationship between adult programs or adult-controlled youth-serving organizations and the self-contained program of youth and by youth. In the first place, let it be said that there is nothing incompatible in a program in which youth exercises the widest responsibility and self-determination and the presence of an adult-sponsoring or supporting organization related to this youth program. One of the siren calls of radical youth groups has to do with the domination and control exercised by adult sponsors or parent organizations. This patter is about as logical as saying that the young adult has no opportunity to think for himself or determine a course of action simply because his Ma and Pa are available to advise and assist him.

Supposing the acceptability and even the desirability of an adult-sponsoring group in relation to a youth-determined program, one may

ask what agencies might legitimately enter this field of sponsorship. Immediately one groups together the traditional religious, educational, character-building, and patriotic organizations which have already experimented with this type of youth program. However, there is an opinion that the reason no dynamic, widespread, organized movement of young adults and by young adults has caught on in this country is that these traditional agencies and their policies affecting youth affiliates have approached only platonically the vital social, political, and economic problems which confront the mass of youth.

Therefore, I would look with no alarm and even with considerable hope toward the raising up of dynamic youth movements under the aegis of political parties, labor unions, and other social forces in this country. To expand this idea a little, what harm would result if a youth movement be built around the principles of Jefferson, Hamilton, Jackson, Lincoln? Why should the principles of Karl Marx be the only ones projecting a political youth movement? You who serve youth know the lethargic, indifferent, and hopeless attitude of the mass of young voters in respect to political affairs. Excepting law students with visions of careers or young fellows seeking a civil service job, note the apathetic attitude of youth toward the solemn workings of our two-party system. It is possible that someone has told them that the process which elects judges, senators, and presidents is unclean and might contaminate them. Is it better that they join church groups and community centers exclusively until they learn about the birds and the bees of political life?

I feel certain that only false modesty deters those servants of the electorate known as the "bosses" from starting youth sections of their political parties for young people, eighteen to twenty-five, who might discuss the basic principles of the party, critically analyze its program, intelligently criticize its public service and actively participate in its primary day activity. The same, of course, holds true for labor leaders. Would that a few social group workers and youth organizers might leave their important work with the hobby classes and athletic programs in the Y's and community centers and offer their services for the formation of youth in political and social action under the accepted political parties and labor unions!

Admitting the place of an adult-sponsoring organization and broadening the base to include any responsible organization interested in political, social, economic, and religious life in our country, there re-

mains for consideration the exact form which this sponsorship and guidance should take. There are two schools of thought on the matter. One mentality envisions this youth program as a group of well-trained seals in human form. The other extreme might be characterized as the instigation of unbridled youth. It is this latter thing which causes board members, club directors, and ecclesiastical officials to become unalterably authoritarian. Both extremes point to the other with alarm. Naturally, there is a good, broad, middle way which will be acceptable both to the young adult and to the responsible adult sponsor. The foundation of this proper relationship is sound clarification. Whether related to a national board, a council of social agencies, or an educational association, a youth council or federation should expect and receive a clear statement of mutual equities on a conference basis. The representatives of a young adult group usually exhibit maturity and understanding when presented with the policies, problems, and just equities of the sponsoring group. Though they may disagree in part, they will be thankful to have a defined scope within which to operate a full understanding of those matters which must be cleared. Nothing is so irksome as an indefinite commission with a promise to determine margins of authority and responsibility as occasions arise.

There remains to be mentioned one more element in the relationship of the youth group and an adult-sponsoring program. By a mysterious natural process persons outgrow their youth. For many this is a relief, but with others it is a tragedy. Active leaders in a dynamic youth program like to linger longer than their age allows. There is a group of hardy perennials in several student and youth programs. Even marriage is postponed lest it interfere with the indispensable contribution of the leader to his cause. Evidentially, this is unhealthy from the point of view both of the individual and of the group. Youthful leadership must be renewed if the program is to fulfill one of its major purposes.

Accordingly, the adult sponsors have responsibility in seeing that the group keeps within the youth age and that provision is made for the building of continuous youth leadership. Also, the adult group has responsibility toward what might be called the finished product of the youth program. In the experiences of such programs, fires have been lit and skills developed. Opportunity for graduation into a program of adult membership along the same lines of interest should

be open, especially to those who have shown initiative and talent within the youth program. Too often even the best of these leaders are left to feel like little boys after the circus has left town. An adult group interested in its own extension and the continuance of the young adult's activities should furnish a bridge from the relatively few years of youthful activity to the continued period of service in adult life.

There are signs that the next few years will see the growth of local, regional, and national groups of young people gathered together in programs largely for the welfare of young people. If properly established and orientated, these programs should be productive of a more vital social participation and a better founded leadership within the young adult age group. A challenge has been given by irresponsible and radical elements who have seen in other countries the effect of organized young adult groups in the arena of social, political, and economic reform. Those agencies and institutions which enjoy respect and esteem in American life must prudently and progressively provide opportunities for a more dynamic and realistic youth expression. Abandoning some of their safeguards and privileges, these educational, religious, and social institutions must exhibit a confidence in the rank and file of American young people to the end that the leadership of this group will join with adult leaders of these agencies in fostering the best interests and widest good for the local, national, and international community in which they live.

COMMUNITY REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

By Thelma Shaw

IN SEARCHING FOR A DEFINITION of the community organization process I read that the "basic concern of all the social work processes is the human being, both as an individual and in his relationship to groups" [1]—and that "the primary objective of the community organization process is to help people find effective ways to work together toward objectives related to the common welfare"; that it "is used consciously or unconsciously in many fields of activity"—as well as in social work—and that, in short, "whenever individuals and groups seek ways to pool resources and efforts to achieve an improvement in group life, the community organization process is at work." [2] In other words, the basic assumptions of the community organization process are fundamentally those of democracy itself: (1) a democratic community can and will function intelligently and effectively in direct ratio to the intelligent and effective functioning of its citizens; (2) citizen capacity is implicit, not functioning automatically, but developed through education and experience; and (3) wide participation in the management of community affairs is the foundation of freedom, the source of democratic government, and must be steadily renewed and strengthened.

Optimism about democracy is today under a cloud. We are now witnessing in the United States, and indeed over the entire world, the test of whether democracy can be made to function on a large scale. Individual communities, and the issues that face us within them, stand, for better or for worse, in inescapable relationship to other communities that make up our country and our world; so it is extremely important—more than that, it is urgent—that we bestir ourselves as never before to revitalize the motivation and coöperation,

1 Wayne McMillen, *Community Organization for Social Welfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 22.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

wherever and whenever possible, of three significant component parts of the community organization process. I refer to citizens themselves; social welfare agencies; and community councils.

All citizens must be jarred from the rut of apathy and indifference in which so many of them have been traveling, with reference to their failures as practicing citizens in the assumption of a bill of duties as a correlative part of a bill of rights. We need to muster all resources, both of intellect and of moral purpose, to meet the responsibilities of our time. Of course, we have thousands of citizens who are informed about their communities; who vote intelligently; who give funds for better services to people, volunteer their time and talent to community undertakings, and make immeasurable sacrifice to advance our democratic philosophy. We have many groups of citizens contributing to community programs, initiating needed services, attempting to stimulate their membership to knowledge and action. We have great numbers of leaders from business, professional, social, and civic walks of life who are potent factors in the community organization process. But they are a drop in the bucket in comparison with the multitudes we need.

How to bring about a more responsible citizenry is a great problem. It is said that if an American meets a situation he recognizes as a problem without having an absolutely certain solution he tends to resort to education and to leadership. I conform with this design, for I suggest that education for responsible citizenship and the development of competent leadership are fundamental to greater and more representative citizen participation. For the long pull, our system of modern education might do well to place less emphasis on the development of traditional intellectual and aesthetic faculties and the concentrated preparation of individuals for competition with their fellows and more on education for citizenship that might conceivably be regarded as a central feature of our educational system and not as a side issue. This has to do, in particular, with our young people.

A more immediate technique in stimulating citizen interest and activity was suggested at a recent workshop of citizen groups:

> Person to person contact, talking it over in all the places things get discussed in the thousands of hometowns is still the best bet. Group discussions around things large numbers of citizens have in common and feel are all important are known to be effective. The group process equalizes us, gives rise to virtue and courage. Those who take leadership in group situations

are warned however that we must take people where they are—where their interests lie.[3]

The learning-by-doing process of education is also important. We get in such a habit of using the same people for the same jobs. Both lay and professional leaders should develop more sensitivity to potential citizen leadership. There are many people submerged under the layer of established community leaders who have quite as much ability and a great deal more time than those who are already recognized within the community. We are careless and lazy about creating opportunities for the participation of the untried citizen who, with the imparting of a small amount of know-how and a great deal of confidence, will, more often than not, show amazing results. The performance of citizen volunteers during the war proved this point in countless ways.

The demand for intelligent leadership is raised in connection with practically every interest and purpose. It appears with great frequency in public utterances and newspaper editorials. It is seldom absent when a would-be social reformer speaks. We are always hoping for individuals to step out of the mass, to find the formulas for directing the course of events, to take the lead. This no doubt accounts for the fact that it is the individual community leaders, key persons, or what not who are usually associated with the dynamic forces of our society instead of more widely representative and larger numbers of people. We automatically assume that there are key persons who control the attitudes of various groups. Almost everywhere—not least in community organization—the method of reaching a goal is assumed to be the indirect one of first reaching the leaders and through them influencing the masses. The other side of the picture shows the relative inertia and inarticulateness of the majority of our citizens. Even the joiners and the supporters seldom reach down below the upper and middle classes.

Until more citizens participate more intensively in political and community activities, permitting, of course, outstanding individuals to have a wider space for their initiative, according to the American tradition, we will neither realize in the highest degree the ideal of a working democracy nor will we advance very far the social welfare objectives for the world, the nation, and the community.

Organized citizens groups could be powerful forces in the formula-

[3] Marion Robinson, "Home Town Goes to Washington," *Survey*, March, 1948.

tion and mobilization of citizen opinion and its translation into action. They would accomplish more if (1) their community service programs were as effective in action as they are on paper; (2) if they widened the base of their membership in an effort to develop new sources of leadership; (3) if with likeminded groups they could arrive at some basis of unity and common action which would enable them to make a concerted attack upon the present lack of widespread citizen interest in understanding and support of social welfare programs. As the situation now stands among organized groups there is an amazing amount of prejudice and selfishness and scattered, unrelated, and inconsequential effort.

Some of the foregoing observations might also be made in connection with social welfare agencies. Suffice it to say that real representation and participation of citizens in community organizations cannot be secured until agencies and professional staffs accept citizen-volunteers as necessary and vital, capable, with help and guidance, of playing a role as effective and dynamic in their way as that of the professional staff members in theirs.

The national social welfare agencies have facts which are basic to citizen understanding; moreover, these are the agencies whose leadership is recognized by local agencies in the same field. They therefore have a responsibility for making facts available in as simple and effective manner as possible to citizens directly or through their groups; for describing the place of citizen participation in various fields; for aiding state and local groups in interpreting facts regarding social needs; and for actually working with citizen groups.

For years and years, it seems to me, we have talked about the responsibility of social agencies in accepting and planning for the volunteer; about the partnership that should exist between the layman and the professional worker, each having a mutual recognition and appreciation of the other's skills and area of competence. We have agreed that an agency should analyze its program in relation to the use of volunteers; should prepare the staff for using them; should arrange for adequate conditions of work, training, supervision, promotion, and recognition. A volunteer service bureau, if one exists, should be used for the recruiting and placement of volunteers, or at least for their registration and clearance. Agencies should be concerned with the development of the volunteer, not only as an agency worker, but as a community leader. The volunteer program should not

be considered an end in itself but as an intrinsic part of the agency program.

We have set forth certain qualifications for board membership and have written articles and books and pamphlets on the relationship of board and staff and the function of agency boards. We have held many orientation courses and institutes for the training of board members which are supposed to, and often do, bring meaning to the sometimes stuffy role of board membership. We have talked about year-around, courageous nominating committees who are to secure adequate and representative citizens for board membership. We have talked about having representatives from various professions, industrial and labor groups, religious sects, age groups, serve on agency boards. On occasion, we mention the possibility of increased representation from certain racial groups. Standards have been set up in some agencies in accordance with which board members are selected.

We have said that one of the best sources of responsible leadership is the ranks of the service volunteers who have participated in the work of the agency from the ground up; that another excellent source is the volunteer bureau which has a file of individuals who have shown interest in volunteer service and leadership ability. Some councils of social agencies maintain a file of potential leaders, contributed by agencies who can be persuaded to report names of volunteers who have been rotated off boards or committees but should be retained in council or agency activities. We have pointed to campaign workers, youth groups, church, farm, and school groups as sources for workers in agency programs.

We have many outstanding examples of teamwork between lay and professional leaders, but in spite of all this we still hear a surprising amount of talk about social agencies and professional workers who make citizens feel inferior. As an example, consider this quotation:

> In spite of the efforts toward integration that are now going on in thousands of communities, the trend toward a fragmentary, highly specialized concept of the social structure continues unabated. If we add to this the appalling conglomeration of agencies and organizations, the fact that most of them are staffed with experts and administrators, jealous of their professional status and the control of their budgets, then you have a situation that is bound to intimidate any sensible person who would like to serve his community. He feels utterly unfit to compete with so many specialized authorities, few of whom are ready to coöperate with each other, none of whom

moreover, has enough sense of security and authority to take over the responsibility of constructive local leadership. For these experts have had the spontaneity of leadership trained out of them by the need to fit into the particular niche they occupy. They console themselves with innumerable national conferences where they take in each other's intellectual washing and talk a jargon that is often ridiculous because it is devoid of life.[4]

My personal experience and that of most volunteers I know has been very different. I have known more citizens who attempted to intimidate or even persecute professional social workers than the reverse. I have seldom known a well-qualified professional worker who did not make an effort to be considered a resource in the community rather than a control. And there have been many times in my experience with both public and private agencies that I have longed for professional workers to assume more leadership.

We would surely agree that capturing citizens' interest, helping them work well for their communities, and guiding them into positions of responsibility and leadership is no easy job. Quite often the use of volunteers does not mean less time for the professional worker; it may mean more. But ultimately it will pay dividends if the agency really believes in, really wants, citizen participation.

It is important that the agency helps the volunteer to see his own importance in the scheme of things, teaches him how to do the job in not too complicated a way, and wholeheartedly gives him credit when credit is due. Once citizens are convinced of the need for the services of the agency and feel a part of the process, they are usually willing to work to extend, enrich, and support its program. We cannot accomplish much by just talking about lay-professional relationships. We must do something about them, and the doing is usually constructive; for it is true that each of us "becomes not what he wishes, but what he does." We have talked so much; we have done so little.

Councils of social agencies and other planning bodies must also recognize, in fact as in theory, the importance of more widespread citizen participation, and be more actively concerned with increasing its extent, breadth, and quality. A recent survey conducted by the National Conference of the Community lists 2,500 communities in the United States as having some form of organized council. According to the report, few of these 2,500 are well and broadly organized; they

[4] Agnes Meyer, "Leadership and Learning," William Hodson Memorial lecture.

are strongest in the field of strictly local action and weakest in those programs that lift the sights to the community's wider relationship and possibilities.

There is an increasing interest in the concept of a broad council of citizens with a considerably widened base of participation. Widening the base is the first step that must be taken to insure better citizen representation and participation. A study, "Public Agency-Council Relationships," made by Community Chests and Councils bears out this trend, giving abundant evidence of outstanding achievements as a result. The participation of public agencies, for example, is certainly more than occasional, according to this study, ranging from that of agricultural agencies to courts, prisons, and museums. The statistics show that there is, as always, room for improvement, particularly in juvenile courts, public institutions, parks, libraries, and museums, and in the consideration of newer programs, such as those for mental hygiene, vocational education, and rehabilitation, unemployment compensation, veterans' services, and so on, that emphasize prevention rather than treatment at the point of crisis. The study also shows encouraging figures on citizen representation in councils, with citizen delegates comprising more than 20 percent of the delegates in cities with a population of 100,000 to 200,000, moving downward in the larger cities. Customarily, also, 50 percent of the social agency delegates are laymen. In many communities the council is vigorous in its efforts to see the community whole, to show business, government, and the citizenry in general the stake they have in effective social welfare services. But in too many communities the council is not a truly democratic movement; rather it is a little intra-manipulative job among social agencies, or in many communities it is not even that—just the same people meeting once a month to eat and listen to a presentation of isolated problems in the community that are usually promptly forgotten after the dessert.

A recent magazine article contains this statement:

> Community organization and control in the United States has been largely from the top down for it scarcely exists among the lower income groups. This from top down approach has been efficient in raising money, putting across community projects and getting votes. . . . Except for the vote-getting technique of ward-heel politics . . . community organizers have largely over-looked the lower income areas particularly minority groups. As a result, democratic processes have been thwarted, potential and worth-

while leadership have been lost, and minority groups have continued to live as a kind of second-class citizenry.[5]

I now quote from a staff member of one of our country's most effective councils:

> A broader Council structure would permit more of a legislative approach to planning, with the John Does who don't happen to be tied in with organized social agencies having a chance to be represented and to participate. The traditional type council has really been up against it in getting enough lay citizenry to do the necessary jobs. Certainly it has found it hard to spread information, to stimulate enough public interest so that things could get done. We all know how the same leaders get used over and over again. Every community has its list. The only real ray of hope has been our Volunteer Service Bureau which has deliberately assumed a broader scope and gotten acquainted with all sorts of citizens and citizen's groups. It has thereby had a vitalizing influence on the Council, has fed in new leadership, cultivated new group contacts. But it seems to me that the Council should, in its own purpose and structure, be tied closer with the interests and resources of citizens.[6]

I am rather painfully aware that I have said nothing new about citizen representation and participation. I have only affirmed my belief that the community organization process, if truly representative, can be the means of integrating the millions of individuals who are now but listeners in our country. Through the community organization process more of our people can secure a feeling of belonging to, responsibility for, and a sharing in the thing we are all striving for—a better life, where we shall walk in the ways of God; where each man in our universe "shall dwell safely under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid." If this state of affairs should ever come about it will require all elements of our population conspiring together—not separately, but *together*. Not "they" but "we." There will have to be a choice of values, a selection of priorities, a division of labor. Above all, let us stop thinking that "they" are responsible or that "you" must do all the work. It is only "we" who have the combined and inexhaustible strength. "You" cannot do much. "They" will not do much. But we, gathering strength from all who join us in a great conviction, can and will move mountains.

[5] Glen E. Carlson, "Community Organization Turns a Corner," *Sociology and Social Research*, March–April, 1948, p. 782.

[6] Mrs. Frances Goodall, Social Planning Council, St. Louis, in a personal communication to the author.

VOLUNTEERS IN MENTAL HOSPITALS

By Marjorie H. Frank

FROM MY CLOSE CONTACT during the last six years with volunteer work in mental hospitals, I have come to realize that professional staff members need as much interpretation as to the utilization of volunteers to their greatest capacity as do volunteers in reference to the type of work and type of patient with whom they will be in close contact. The Veterans Administration realizes fully the usefulness of volunteers who work in the hospitals or in the community for the good of the patient. They feel that the volunteer brings the patient closer to the community and therefore keeps the community aware of the conditions and operations of the hospital. To quote from an article by Dr. Daniel Blain, recently chief, Neuropsychiatry Division, Veterans Administration:

> With regard to the function of volunteers, we are operating on the principle that a volunteer plays an essential part in the total job of aiding in the recovery of a patient, that he has certain specific functions with regard to doing specific jobs with certain patients, and, in addition, he has general functions which have to do with the background, environment, and other connections of the patient before and after the treatment, and an important relationship to the community at large.
>
> In general, the volunteer worker parallels the work of the paid employee. I should mention here that those who come in as volunteers without salary and are, therefore, not in a formal employee status nevertheless are serving for compensation. The compensation in this instance is not financial, but it behooves everyone concerned with the volunteer in an administrative and promotional capacity to keep in mind the very important consideration of satisfaction, appreciation, and other forms of compensation which the volunteer worker must have if his work will remain steady and show gradual improvement.
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> In general, salaried professional workers are subject to control and selection; certain training is demanded of them; and they have a certain amount of clear-cut responsibility and are subject to certain authority. In addition, they may live in hopes of certain advancement when their work is properly done. It is our belief that all volunteer workers should have the same feeling of responsibility toward their work, should live under the same authority,

should be subject to certain types of control and be subjected to a program of selection and training parallel to that of salaried professionals.[1]

To obtain volunteers who really will be good assistants in a hospital program, I would suggest that the professional staff or a selected staff member first should carefully survey the various hospital departments to ascertain the number of volunteers that could be used to help the scheduled programs or the expansion of these programs. This survey should also include the type of qualifications the volunteers should have to assist each department.

It should be noted that if volunteers with particular ability or interest give their services to a hospital, in most cases they will give regular and dependable service for many years. Our experience has shown that volunteers who are or have been teachers maintain their interest in coming regularly to the hospital to teach particular subjects to patients. Volunteers versed in music continue to further this interest in the hospital. Volunteers interested in athletics, crafts, chess, camera and stamp clubs seem to maintain their enthusiasm to a much greater degree than volunteers with no particular avocation. The personality of the volunteer also is important. One who is a wholesome, warm, outgoing person seems to encourage patient participation much more readily and gets along well with other volunteers and with the hospital staff.

Another important factor that insures the continued interest of volunteers is understanding that they wish to be busy the entire time they are on duty. We have found that assignments must be planned in advance, and that these assignments should be based on a real need and on the value to the patients, as well as with consideration of the particular abilities of the volunteers. Programs must be arranged for daytime and evening volunteers and on a winter and summer basis since many activities vary according to the season of the year. Assignment is not an easy matter, but it is a most important one. This is particularly true in neuropsychiatric hospitals where there is a constantly growing program and where the great majority of patients are ambulant; these factors permit the stimulation of a great variety of activities.

Recruitment periods for new volunteers that have been planned

[1] Daniel Blain, M.D., "The Volunteer Worker in the Neuropsychiatric Hospital," *Voluntary Service Information Bulletin*, August 1, 1947, p. 8.

for two or three times a year—in October, after summer vacations; in January, after the holidays; and in early May, to plan for the summer months—have been found the most satisfactory for obtaining the needed number of new volunteers.

The American National Red Cross has found it necessary to have two professional staff members in most of the Veterans Administration hospitals and even three or four in a few of the large hospitals so as to maintain a smoothly running volunteer program. Among this staff's main duties are ascertaining the needs of the hospital departments, helping to recruit volunteers with particular aptitudes, and coördinating and planning with the hospital departments and Red Cross chapters the volunteer orientation courses, schedules, programs, and assignments. Just as important is planning for in-service training and, as agreed upon with the various hospital departments, helping in the over-all supervision of Red Cross volunteers. The latter particularly pertains to the recreation program since nearly every ward has daily programs, and we have found that helpful continuous supervision, including in-service training, is of the utmost value in stimulating the volunteers' continued interest as well as new program ideas.

I shall outline briefly the steps that we have taken to procure volunteers for Veterans Administration hospitals. These highly successful procedures first were undertaken for a Veterans Administration neuropsychiatric hospital about six years ago. First, the Red Cross field director at the hospital ascertains the needs of the various departments. She learns, not only the type of service for which the volunteers are needed, but also the days of the week, hours of the day or night, and the particular type of work the volunteers will be asked to perform.

The field director notifies the Red Cross chapters in the communities serving her hospital, giving them the full details, and the chapters, either through newspaper, radio publicity, or, more successfully, through personal acquaintanceship and talks to different community groups, recruit the volunteers. Chapters hold preliminary interviews where full explanations of the hospital, the patients, and the needs are given to the applicants. The prospective volunteers then meet with the Red Cross field director and the particular members of the Veterans Administration hospital staff to whom the volunteers may be assigned to discuss details of the particular work in which they may participate and types of patient with whom they would

work. At this time, the volunteers and staff can also ascertain whether the capabilities and interest of the volunteers indicate aptitude for hospital work and that particular phase of assignment. Application forms completed by the prospective volunteers show the time they would be available, their reasons and qualifications for work in any particular hospital, and also a number of their main interests, such as games, crafts, music. It has been found most helpful to have a psychologist or a psychiatrist at the hospital participate in the selection and interviewing of prospective volunteers. Simple psychological tests usually are given, and although some volunteers may be rejected, the ones who are carefully selected and accepted are the ones who continue to work regularly and successfully and who coöperate wholeheartedly with their fellow volunteers, hospital staff, and patients. Those who the hospital feels are not suited for the particular hospital are then told by the Red Cross chapter of other services which they can render for Red Cross.

Different age limits are usually found suitable for different types of hospital. Volunteers from twenty-one to forty-five years of age seem best suited for work in general-medical and neuropsychiatric hospitals; volunteers from twenty-five to fifty, in tuberculosis hospitals.

Dr. Florence Powdermaker, Neuropsychiatry Division, Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans Administration, emphasizes the importance of careful selection of volunteers when she says:

> Screening of the volunteer is important for the sick both from the standpoint of the patient and the volunteer. The volunteer will only get satisfaction and happiness from his work if he is suited in the first place for work in the hospital and if he is assigned to a job which is congenial and for which he has some gift or training. It is necessary for the patient that the volunteer be screened so that he will be assured of helpful administrations from the volunteer. Working with the sick is an avocation or a profession for which everyone is not suited however great the interest may be. It is in part a matter of temperament and personality. Not to be found acceptable is in no way a reflection on the person but simply means his personality and talents suit him for a different kind of work. It aims to keep the round peg from a square hole. If done in this spirit, screening is not a problem and one can be assured of the coöperation of both the individuals and the organization.[2]

All accepted volunteers attend an orientation course of about fifteen hours in length. This course consists of a Red Cross chapter lecture,

[2] Florence Powdermaker, M.D., "Screening of Volunteer Hospital Workers," *Voluntary Service Information Bulletin,* August 1, 1947, p. 30.

following which members of the Red Cross hospital staff and representatives of the various hospital departments conduct a series of lectures, panel discussions, and tours of the hospital. A short examination follows and then a probation period during which it can be ascertained where the volunteers would best fit in the hospital program and an evaluation can be made of their interest and coöperation.

The volunteers are asked to promise to serve a minimum of fifty to 100 hours a year. In-service training is scheduled regularly so that the volunteers are always aware of whatever changes or broadening of the hospital program may be planned. Hospital staff members often participate, giving detailed information concerning their own departments.

We are trying not only to encourage group recreation, such as parties and dances, but to stress individualized attention and individualized recreation as much as possible. This holds the interest of the volunteers and seems to be beneficial and pleasing to the patients. A well-planned recreation program continues on a daily basis for all wards, even the acute service, and we try to stimulate volunteers to encourage patient participation to the highest degree, particularly on an individual basis. In other words, the volunteers first try to start responsive patients playing games, and then they give their attention to the patients who seem to withdraw and do not wish to participate. A great portion of in-service training, therefore, emphasizes different types of games. Field directors and volunteers always are looking for new games which will interest the patients and can be used in the recreation program. Besides individual recreation, volunteers sponsor dancing classes, musicals, community singing, plays with patient participation, and various group activities such as chess and stamp clubs.

Volunteers are of great service to many other departments in the hospital. Selected as much as possible on the basis of their knowledge, they are assigned to the library. Besides helping in the regular library routine, they also read to patients and hold discussion sessions on various subjects. Again, there has to be a careful selection of readers or discussion leaders so as to hold the attention of a patient or group of patients.

Volunteers show enthusiasm in the athletic program and participate in activities such as golf, tennis, croquet, badminton, softball, swimming, archery, fishing, and skiing.

There are two types of craft program in Veterans Administration hospitals, occupational therapy and manual arts therapy. Occupational therapy differs from manual arts therapy in that it offers medically prescribed activities, determined by the emotional and physical needs of each patient, for purely therapeutic values. The manual arts therapy program is directed toward the exploration, direction, and preparation of the individual for vocational training and placement in an industrial or trade activity.

Volunteer recruits for these two departments are interviewed at the community level, not only by the Red Cross chapter, but also by a representative of a museum or craft school to ascertain professionally the volunteers' qualifications and knowledge of particular crafts. Often the chapters will hold craft courses to train additional volunteers. After acceptance by the hospital and on completion of the orientation course, these volunteers work under the direct supervision of the Veterans Administration occupational therapy and manual arts therapy departments. Since many volunteers are used in the occupational therapy department, this department, in many hospitals, holds series of lectures and instruction courses as in-service training to broaden the knowledge of their skilled volunteers. Volunteers versed in ceramics, woodworking, metal and jewelry work, painting, plastics, leather work, and weaving seem to be the ones most needed by the occupational therapy department.

There is an extremely wide range of craft work needed in a large neuropsychiatric hospital, for not only the degree of skill or the potential ability, but also the mental state of the patients must be taken into consideration. The arts and skills volunteers working with mental patients must have not only an excellent knowledge of their particular crafts, but also a stable and well-balanced personality. Their work requires great patience and understanding, and sympathetic knowledge of the patients' illness. With some of the more regressed patients, the work is on the level of kindergarten crafts. These patients will have a very short interest span. With these men the volunteers have found that adding music and gardening projects to the craft program has been most valuable in keeping the patients' interest at a high level.

Volunteers work in the occupational therapy clinics and also directly on the wards with ambulants and with infirm and bedridden patients. Here the workers must do a great deal of preparation, since

many of the men are not physically able to handle some aspects of the work. The program must be adapted to the special needs of wheelchair patients and those with particular disabilities.

A report from one neuropsychiatric hospital where 179 patients are enrolled for courses in vocational subjects states:

> Besides assisting the manual arts therapy department in teaching simple and artistic crafts, volunteers are used in this program also to assist in carpentry, cabinet making, upholstery, textiles, printing, machine shop, sheet metal, photography, electricity, radio, art leather, shoe and luggage repair, graphic arts including blueprint reading and mechanical drawing, precision casting and art metal work.
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> In the graphic arts and mechanical drawing shop volunteers are now teaching blueprint reading, mechanical drawing, sign painting, lettering, and design. In this shop as in many others, patients who are newly assigned by doctors' prescription may still be in some state of mental confusion. It is with these men that volunteer workers can be particularly helpful. These patients may require almost constant individual instruction for some time. Much as the instructors might wish to give a great deal of personal attention to these men it is impossible with the number of patients in the class to give all the individual instruction desired. But, with sufficient volunteer aid, much personal help can be given, both to the patient who is a bit slow to learn as well as to the man who may advance quickly to a higher degree of skill than his fellow students.
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> Volunteers who have been experts in dressmaking are now readapting their skills to fit the more commercial methods used in the textile shop. With a few lessons of instruction in operating power machines, rather than their home model and cutting dozens of garments from patterns at one time instead of the usual single dress, they prove to be of great help in this commercial sewing shop.
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> In addition to these volunteers who serve regularly, specialists who can come to lecture on the job opportunities and latest methods in various trades are being located through the various chapters to talk to the patients. One of the local chapters stimulated the interest of the head of the graduate school of a local college of engineering, who visits the hospital regularly. Through the interest and contacts of just this one volunteer, arrangements are being made for teachers from vocational schools and local business experts to give lectures and help advise the patients in their future plans for study and job opportunities, after their discharge from the hospital.
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> Many donated items are being collected for work in these shops. Radios in any condition are needed for use in teaching radio repair, and many dozens of these as well as small motors and many other items have been collected and donated to this program.
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> The teamwork between the paid workers and the volunteer enables the hospital to give far more concentrated attention to the patients. Occasionally, in neuropsychiatric hospitals there will be a patient who is more antag-

onistic toward any paid staff member, feeling that they conspire against him. A patient of this type may be willing to trust the volunteer and respond to her suggestions (relayed from the professional staff) until he has regained confidence in the sincerity of the desire of everyone to help him recover.

The volunteers themselves very often become so interested in their work that they continue to study and attend craft classes in their communities.

Another department to which volunteers are assigned is educational training. Patients may study any course in which they are interested, and the Red Cross has recruited teachers for most of the requested subjects.

Quoting again from another report from a Veterans Administration neuropsychiatric hospital:

> Volunteers have become of great value in developing rapport with patients, stimulating interest in the retraining area, and in general reducing a patient's tension and anxiety in merely being an objective and understanding audience to his problems. They guide and instruct individual patients in typewriting, shorthand, bookkeeping, business subjects, English, social science, and mathematics. The academic level runs from basic educational needs for illiterate patients through to college level work. Many volunteers are equipped with special interest and skills such as journalism, design and scientific backgrounds. Every opportunity is seized to enable a volunteer to employ this specialty in the program. For example, the specialty in journalism is promoting patient contributions for the local hospital bi-weekly publication. In addition to being a valuable supplement to the regular instructor staff, the volunteers have contributed a wholesome atmosphere by their daily presence in the classrooms. Patients respect the "Gray Lady" uniform, they enjoy the daily association with people from "outside." The increased individual supervision results in a corresponding stimulus of a patient's feeling of being an individual—a goal in psychotherapy. This is evident by the patients' increased attention to their personal appearance, the spontaneous display of courtesy by some patients and by the gradual responsiveness of heretofore seclusive individuals.

We have found that it is not wise to recruit volunteers who are interested only in teaching since many patients in a neuropsychiatric hospital will not be able to follow a daily or even a weekly teaching routine. Therefore, it is well to select a volunteer who has a teaching background but who will be willing to work in other phases of the hospital program if patients to whom she would be assigned are not available the day she arrives. We have also been able to use units of college students who come regularly to some of the hospitals to study with the patients or to teach them.

Volunteers are assigned to the Veterans Administration nursing department to help feed patients, fold surgical dressings, mend and sew for the patients. Other volunteers in the Red Cross chapters serving the hospital indirectly aid the nursing department by making sweaters, socks, pajamas, covers for crutch pads and hot-water bottles, and cushions and dayroom curtains.

Other Red Cross volunteers are members of the Canteen Service who, after receiving a required Red Cross canteen course, serve at teas and picnics.

Another available volunteer service is that of the clerical work for the different hospital departments. A few instances of where these volunteers assist in Veterans Administration hospitals are: social service, chaplains, special services, recreation, athletics, library, various departments under physical medicine rehabilitation, dietetics, and clinical records. They also help edit and set up the hospital newspapers and magazines.

The medical service in many of the hospitals asks that volunteers be directly assigned to individual psychiatrists for special work with certain patients. Gray Ladies often participate in psychodrama, and they are active in planned group psychotherapy parties which are closely supervised by the psychiatrist in charge. Under the supervision of the psychiatrist they help in the postoperative education of the leukotomy patients on a daily basis. Reports from the psychiatrists and from the volunteers on this particular type of work are most enthusiastic. Volunteers work on the acute intensive treatment service and also assist in the electric shock and insulin therapy programs. They provide music, play simple games, converse with patients before their shock treatments, and assist in the feeding after shock treatment. A letter from a psychiatrist to the Red Cross says:

> In the insulin service, patients emerging from coma frequently pass through phases of early life. In these, one man needs a smiling face; another, a soothing maternal voice and hand. In all, the re-establishment of contact with reality is made easier, and a wholesome return is favored by the presence of Gray Ladies. Another part they play here is the selection of suitable record music to provide an easy and emotionally satisfying awakening.
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> In the electrotherapy service, too, patients awaken from a period of unconsciousness, through helplessness, to full awareness. Again the Gray Ladies, with music, with refreshments, with their kindness and interest provide a setting which favors the wholesome reintegration of a personality.
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> In the psychosurgery program, which is rather intensive at this hospital,

the interest shown by the ladies who have devoted themselves to this program has resulted in what might well turn out to be a major contribution. With a thumb-nail sketch of the patient's personality and the problem presented, these ladies have developed an educational program, which begins with elementary speech mechanisms, advances by degrees through the uses of vocabulary, symbolic constructions, up to the ways of the outside world in everyday life, correct manners, and practices in ethical reasoning. As we know how far from accepted customs the patient is who has been approved for leukotomy, and how great is his need of re-education, we look upon the program of the Gray Ladies with warmest approval.[3]

Volunteers also have successfully assisted the social service department. The following list of specific duties performed by Red Cross volunteers in conjunction with, and under the direct supervision of, social service workers is reported by one hospital:

> They make initial contact with new patients to inform them of the general functions and availability of social service; help patients fill out forms for clothing requests, insurance blanks, application blanks, etc.; help patients write letters to relatives in matters pertaining to social service; perform contact work on all request items such as wheelchairs, eye glasses, etc., as a follow-up on the original contact; and under the direction of social service workers, contact patients on the ward who need an opportunity of talking with someone when they are especially low and lonely with a view toward referral to the social worker of any casework problem. This could be termed "companion service."

We have seemed to emphasize the work of women volunteers. However, many men volunteers participate in programs in neuropsychiatric hospitals. In one hospital, more than one hundred men are now serving. Besides working in the occupational therapy, manual arts therapy, and educational training departments men volunteers, with women volunteers, are actively participating in sports programs with the patients at the hospitals and, often, in the communities. Men and women volunteers are active in various patient clubs, such as stamp, chess, and book clubs. They plan forum discussion groups and theatrical plays with volunteer and patient participation under the supervision of a hospital staff member.

In addition to the volunteers who serve on a regular basis, there are those who occasionally act as hosts and hostesses for parties and dances and entertain on the wards or in the auditorium. Many dances could not be held without the attendance of girls from the community. Volunteers who serve on an occasional basis only, receive a

[3] Quoted from letter written by W. J. Turner, M.D., Northport Veterans Administration Hospital, New York (a neuropsychiatric hospital).

brief orientation by the Red Cross hospital staff on hospital policies and the neuropsychiatric patient. It has not seemed necessary for these volunteers to participate in the entire screening and training process since they are at the hospital on few occasions and have constant supervision.

The number of volunteers required to fulfill the needs grows constantly as the different programs expand. At one hospital, we have more than four hundred volunteers per month and we are recruiting still more. All these are capable, trained volunteers giving regular service, who come from distances of five to fifty miles.

One of the main contributions that volunteers make is helping the patient feel that he is one of a community. Community participation is needed to foster a patient's interest in community activities. The Red Cross Motor Service transports patients from the hospital on sightseeing trips, to picnics, baseball and football games, plays, and other forms of activity, such as bowling, skiing, tennis, and dancing classes in the community. Visits to industries have resulted in many patients acquiring jobs in the community. Also, many patients attend meetings of the Rotary and the Lions clubs and other community organizations, and have entered into civic contests such as the "model home" contest. Quiz programs on the radio with joint patient and community participation seem to be enjoyed by community members and patients alike.

Many organizations as well as schools, colleges, and other educational institutions are of great service in contributing material supplies since many people cannot give time to the hospitals but wish to show their interest in the patients.

To summarize briefly, I would say that for in-hospital work, in order to utilize fully and successfully volunteers who will be of real aid to the patient and hospital staff and who will enjoy continuous participation in their work, there has to be careful selection and training and a well-planned, coördinated program which must be kept on a continuing, organized, and growing basis. Moreover, through the volunteers' close relationship with patients in neuropsychiatric hospitals, better interpretation and understanding of this particular disability are brought to members of the community; for this personal interpretation by a hospital volunteer who is a member of the community is, I feel, one of the best ways to disseminate knowledge of mental illness to the community.

HELPING THE CLIENT TO USE HIS CAPACITIES AND RESOURCES

I. By Grace F. Marcus

IT IS APPARENT that this subject embraces the whole purpose as well as the whole problem of social casework. There is no question now, and there has never been any question, but that the aim of social casework is "to help the client help himself," that is, to use his own capacities and resources to the maximum in handling the problem in his situation. There is, however, a "catch" in this familiar formula. We seem to be expecting the client to help himself at the precise point in his career when he is at a loss to do so, or else he wouldn't be taking the radical step of asking help from a social agency. Here is the contradiction between the client's relationship to a situation out of control and our necessary, reasonable aim. Both to the caseworker and to the client our honored formula may seem to mean nothing less than throwing back on him the brunt of the problem to which he has proved unequal. We have seen this happen and we do not call it casework.

Social caseworkers have, nevertheless, always emphasized this purpose of helping the client to use his own abilities and resources in dealing with his problem. The social value of this purpose is undeniable. But how about the client? What stake has he in this? That question has come back again and again to us, and it has been no easy question to answer. There is an inherent difficulty for the client and the caseworker in this business of the client's taking responsibility for using every capacity he has to handle his current problem.

"Responsibility" is a good word—when we are applying it to what someone else should be facing. To be honest about it, there is much that is uninviting about responsibility, especially when one person is wanting another person to see it as his. At various junctures, any one of us would gladly escape responsibility for ourselves and our situations if we could. The more self-reliant a person has learned to be, the more he knows from repeated experience what a tussle it is to come to grips with a new responsibility. The resistances to responsibility are

beyond numbering. Sometimes the individual shrinks from responsibility because the effort required seems too great, or because he would have to give up too much else, or because he feels that someone else should shoulder the burden, or because the very nature of his situation appears to convict him of inadequacy in tackling it. Under such circumstances it is easy for the caseworker as well as for the client to feel that to expect the client to carry responsibility would be placing him under a compulsion, without regard for the difficulties in his situation or for him as a person. Also, responsibility as another defines it takes on the harsh cast of duty, something the individual must do whether he wants to or not. Even to discuss another person's responsibility with him may imply some defect in his ability or willingness to see it and, worse than this, that he has only himself to blame for being in his predicament. Under these conditions talk of his responsibility can signify that the trouble has been of his own making and one which he may stay in or get out of without expectation of understanding or help.

At one point or another, responsibility may have these connotations of compulsion, blame, and punishment, all of them alienating in the relationship between client and caseworker. Nor have we exhausted all the difficulties in this matter of responsibility. Fear of what it may do to the troubled person to face his responsibility in dealing with his situation can lead the caseworker to the other extreme, that of relieving him of responsibility; undertaking to think, feel, and act for him; reducing him to a cipher; trespassing on his intrinsic right to decide for himself for better or for worse; and perhaps throwing him into the only protest possible for him, that of further helplessness.

We have reviewed some but certainly not all the treacherous meanings of this good word "responsibility" and we are challenged to find justification for the value we have given responsibility, not simply as a social aim entertained by casework, but for the client as a private person, and for the caseworker needing conviction if she is to help the client in dealing with the problem with which he seeks help. The caseworker must know—in fact, cannot for one minute afford to forget—that responsibility may have all these antagonizing and painful connotations; but surely, she needs to know just as thoroughly that mixed up in all the unpleasant meanings of responsibility are indispensably good meanings for any person whatsoever. These good meanings have to do with the development and the maintenance of all

that any human being feels as his individuality, his claim to independence, his warrant for social acceptance.

We all know that taking progressive responsibility for himself is both the stimulus and the goal in the individual's training from babyhood, and that this process is the means whereby he achieves whatever personal freedom there is in a life that for all of us is hedged about with limitations. In childhood the growing capacity to take responsibility releases the individual more and more from a hazardous dependence on the ability and willingness of others to divine and meet his needs, and opens his way into an outer world with more varied relationships, activities, and resources. As he advances toward maturity, his capacity for being responsible gains him increasing opportunity to determine his own needs, to make his own choices, and steer his own course. His proved capacity to use his own abilities and resources becomes the ground he can stand on and the essence of his own worth and security. These intimate connections between personal responsibility, personal independence, and personal security make whatever measure of responsibility he has learned to carry worth all that it cost. But its cost is high and incessant throughout life—the cost of struggle through internal conflict and external conflict. The essential, continuing problem for any individual in relation to responsibility is the problem of accepting the necessity for this struggle and of engaging in it.

We have been learning in recent years from research in the interrelated fields of experimental biology, embryology, neurology, and physiology that this struggle and the necessity for it are the dynamics in growth from the very beginning to the very end of the individual's life. In its psychological aspects the struggle is one for and against change in the individual's management of a situation that no longer satisfies his inner and outer needs. Each time the necessity arises for the individual to reorganize himself to deal with new developments in himself and his environment, he is faced with the pain of giving up the old and outworn, risking the new and untried, experiencing a loss in inner balance and a sense of disorganization, striving again for a new command and integration of himself. All of these are phases of the growth process that must go on in any living organism if its behavior is to be adjusted to its needs, and they involve the individual in a hard but inevitable struggle for and against responsibility for himself.

beyond numbering. Sometimes the individual shrinks from responsibility because the effort required seems too great, or because he would have to give up too much else, or because he feels that someone else should shoulder the burden, or because the very nature of his situation appears to convict him of inadequacy in tackling it. Under such circumstances it is easy for the caseworker as well as for the client to feel that to expect the client to carry responsibility would be placing him under a compulsion, without regard for the difficulties in his situation or for him as a person. Also, responsibility as another defines it takes on the harsh cast of duty, something the individual must do whether he wants to or not. Even to discuss another person's responsibility with him may imply some defect in his ability or willingness to see it and, worse than this, that he has only himself to blame for being in his predicament. Under these conditions talk of his responsibility can signify that the trouble has been of his own making and one which he may stay in or get out of without expectation of understanding or help.

At one point or another, responsibility may have these connotations of compulsion, blame, and punishment, all of them alienating in the relationship between client and caseworker. Nor have we exhausted all the difficulties in this matter of responsibility. Fear of what it may do to the troubled person to face his responsibility in dealing with his situation can lead the caseworker to the other extreme, that of relieving him of responsibility; undertaking to think, feel, and act for him; reducing him to a cipher; trespassing on his intrinsic right to decide for himself for better or for worse; and perhaps throwing him into the only protest possible for him, that of further helplessness.

We have reviewed some but certainly not all the treacherous meanings of this good word "responsibility" and we are challenged to find justification for the value we have given responsibility, not simply as a social aim entertained by casework, but for the client as a private person, and for the caseworker needing conviction if she is to help the client in dealing with the problem with which he seeks help. The caseworker must know—in fact, cannot for one minute afford to forget—that responsibility may have all these antagonizing and painful connotations; but surely, she needs to know just as thoroughly that mixed up in all the unpleasant meanings of responsibility are indispensably good meanings for any person whatsoever. These good meanings have to do with the development and the maintenance of all

that any human being feels as his individuality, his claim to independence, his warrant for social acceptance.

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The client with a problem he cannot meet without help is beset by crisis in a growth process which an eminent biologist calls "creating and operating himself" in relation to his changing needs. Because of some loss in his resources or some obstacle in himself or his circumstances the client cannot achieve the new organization of himself required to deal with his situation. The task of the caseworker is to help him mobilize his inner and outer forces to handle his own problem. This means that the caseworker assists him to use his own powers to identify the needs that are vital to him; assists him to test the agency's service and the possibilities in his own situation so that he may find out how he may meet these needs in a way most satisfactory to him; assists him to work through conflicts in his feelings or relationships to decisions and actions that are his own and are realistically related to changing his situation. We describe this casework as help to the individual in using his strength to cope with the problem for which he has asked the agency's service. We say also that the caseworker must relate to this strength in the client, disorganized or undeveloped or out of exercise as it may be, and help the client to use it in meeting the weaknesses in his situation or in himself.

Let us see how this help works in the first interview with a client whose weakness is poignantly dominant in the picture:

Miss X., twenty-one, has been referred to a family agency for immediate help. Miss X. had lived in a large congregate institution until she was eighteen and then was placed in two wage homes in succession by the principal of the high school which she attended part time. The principal, on being notified by Miss X.'s employer that Miss X. must leave her home at once, has arranged emergency shelter in a near-by girls' home and then sent her straight to the family agency since she must get another place to stay and another job.

The caseworker notes that Miss X. has no youthful air, that she wears a brooding expression, that her clothes would mark her out from the group. Miss X. can take no initiative in presenting her problem. The caseworker helps by stating what little she knows: Miss X. needs to find another place to stay at once. Miss X. replies to this that she must stay at the girls' home until she finishes this last term in school and adds vehemently that she "hates change." The caseworker understands that the change is necessary: however, Miss X. might want to tell her how this necessity for change has come about and then they may see what Miss X. can do about it. Miss X. does not understand what has happened. She expresses an almost unbearable sense of failure. She should never have been placed with a family. She does not know how to live with a family. It is her mother's fault that she is a

failure: her mother never gave her a home and cares nothing about her. The worker gently accepts Miss X.'s feeling about this connection, and then, noting that Miss X. feels that she failed in this wage home, suggests that they consider what happened there. Miss X. does not understand what has happened: the employer said nothing to her about leaving. She is confused about why this has happened and why the employer did not talk to her directly.

The worker says quietly that anyone would have a right to know directly from an employer why she was being dismissed and again suggests that Miss X. consider what reasons she can find for what has happened. In a fumbling fashion Miss X. struggles with this: a picture emerges of dogged, silent attempts to do what she is told; of never knowing whether what she is doing will be right; of being told first one thing, then another; of not questioning or protesting because in the institution she learned that did no good. She was the oldest one in the institution: she had to conform to the rules for the younger children. Her intense sense of not being wanted carries her back through a dismal past, filled with arbitrary, sudden changes. The worker notes her disbelief in the reasons given her for these changes. Miss X. does wonder and says miserably that probably none of them wanted her. Miss X. returns to this last, crushing failure and her confusion about it, and ventures that the employer would probably say she was rude. The worker remarks that Miss X. thinks that maybe she did have a part in this. Miss X. actually laughs in a beginning agreement. The worker explains that this agency is not like the children's institution but is for adults who want to decide for themselves what they will do about their problems. A few minutes later Miss X. can say that she wants to know why she was dismissed: she is tired of being in such confusion. The worker and she agree that the worker will talk to her employer.

The interview ends with Miss X. assuming as a matter of course that she herself will take responsibility for seeing how long her emergency stay at the girls' home can be, and she expresses once more her desire to know her employer's reasons for dismissing her.

Miss X. arrives at the family agency in a state of helpless resistance to being pushed about as an unwanted, insentient object and in emotional mutiny against further change. In the midst of demolishing failure, the worker's affirmation of her right to know the connection between what she does and what happens to her supports Miss X. in a struggle to get out of this profound helplessness. We see her engaging in a new effort to face her experience and her own part in it. The worker supports her in this struggle by a warm, fearless acceptance of her pain and weakness as a person who has been unwanted and knocked about, but also by a clear focus on Miss X. as she is right now, an adult with an adult's capacity to know and right to

decide. We see Miss X. shifting from engulfing failure to an affirmation of her own desire to get clear of this confusion. She is beginning to take possession of herself and to exercise her own capacity for self-awareness.

A series of interviews with Mrs. A. shows a different use of help, by a client bent on using the agency on her own terms:

Mrs. A. is a high-spirited, proud young woman whose marriage abroad to a G.I. has gone badly. After living with his family here for a time and finding that they could not accept her nor could she accept them, she moved to an expensive, badly equipped furnished room to which Mr. A. followed her reluctantly. Now that she has a sick infant needing a great deal of special care, she applies for help in finding an apartment. She insists that her husband would not be interested in discussing this plan.

The worker recognizes all the real reasons that Mrs. A. has for wanting an apartment and that she is free to carry out this plan herself, but the agency cannot help her without Mr. A.'s having a part in discussing it. Mrs. A. cannot see that Mr. A. would have any concern about this. She believes that he wants another woman; he does not care about the baby; he does not give her the money she needs; he spends most of his time away from home; he may leave her at any moment. Mrs. A. will not leave him, but she will do nothing to keep him, and she wants none of his money for herself. The worker recognizes her feelings and questions whether Mrs. A. wants the agency's help when she is so opposed to the condition on which it could be given—that her husband have a part in discussing a move. Mrs. A. persists that she does want the agency's help, but she is sure that Mr. A. will leave her. The worker asks Mrs. A. how she expects to manage without Mr. A., and as Mrs. A. advances one wild scheme after another in the course of several interviews, the worker concentrates attention on how they would work. Mrs. A. sees their impracticality so far as the welfare of the baby is concerned, and interviewing centers on what she wants for the baby. She does not know how Mr. A. feels about the baby: they cannot talk about that. But she talks scornfully about his awkwardness with the child and her refusal to trust the child to him. The worker asks gently whether she had to learn how to care for the baby. Presently Mrs. A. is telling the worker, though still with a note of defiance, how when the baby was sick, Mr. A. had begun to help her. She adds that Mr. A. is changing but she is not sure about him. A little later Mrs. A. learns that she must return to the hospital; Mr. A. has said that if all other arrangements fail, he will stay at home with the baby. She does not know but she thinks that they will continue together.

In this case, the worker's help is directed mainly to Mrs. A.'s problem in accepting the agency's requirement that her husband participate in discussion of the plan with which she is seeking help. Mrs.

A.'s difficulty in the marriage, in relating to her husband's family and a new country—in short, her difficulty in reorganizing herself in relation to so many changes—is expressed in her headlong grasping of the reins, her angry exclusion of Mr. A., her reckless need to show herself and him that she can do without him. Her pressure on the worker to agree with her is intense and stubborn. The worker can fully realize the reality of her desperate anger and hurt pride, and yet hold to the agency's requirement and to Mrs. A.'s considering from point to point what is practical and important for her. The worker's genuine concern for Mrs. A., how she feels, what she wants, enables the client to face factors in her own feeling and outward circumstances that she has been ignoring. The baby and her husband come slowly back into the picture; she becomes aware of the interest that each of them—baby and father—may have in the other, and her defiance of consequences lessens. Gradually, she lets Mr. A. into his role of father and husband. Her blind fight against him has been diminishing as, with the help of the worker, she has engaged in a struggle to effect a change that squares with what she wants most for herself in the light of her inner and outer needs.

Perhaps we should look again at our word "responsibility," the responsibility of the individual for dealing with his own changing internal and external needs. To handle himself responsibly in meeting those needs, the individual must be able to face his own feelings in their ambivalence and to discover which of them takes priority for him. In this process he must also be able to face his disordered reality, its difficult relationships, its uncertain possibilities, its limitations, and again measure what he can do and what the consequences may be. In short, he must learn how to identify and test what is real in his feelings and in his outer circumstances and to work his way from one decision to another and one active step to the next.

The client's use of help from the agency is all part of this process of finding out how he can deal with his situation and effect change in it. He needs to face his own feelings about asking and taking help; he needs to identify and test the value to him of any help the agency can offer in meeting his problem; he needs also to know under what conditions the agency finds it possible and sound to provide that help; and he needs to see whether he wants and can use the help on those terms. The agency's service and the help from the caseworker in using it are part of this reality of his which he has to test out, to

evaluate, to come to decisions about: the worker's job is to assist him in doing this in relation to the agency as well as in relation to other aspects of his situation. Hence the worker defines what the agency can and cannot do in relation to his problem as it unfolds so that he may know what he can get and on what terms, and so that he may use his own capacities for judgment and choice in this connection as in others. Help from the agency is not a pig in a poke that he must take without examination, without questions, and without answers. Nor are his objections and doubts and difficulties in asking for and using the agency's service a matter of indifference: they are real and important to him and therefore real and important to the caseworker who respectfully supports him in looking at them and deciding what he can and will do about them.

We have seen how in the case of Miss X., who was sent to the agency for a service that she did not want—help in finding another shelter—the caseworker can help her to find out where she is in a problem that has been thrust upon her suddenly and whether she wants to have a different part in managing her life. In the case of Mrs. A. we have seen the worker holding firm against the client's pressure to use the agency for a reckless purpose excluding consideration of her husband and of her baby's welfare. In each case, the worker supports the client by a thorough, warm understanding of all her mixed feelings and by a confidence in the client's hidden capacity to look at her situation and weigh its meanings for her. In each case, too, the worker handles the problem of the client as the client's own, not thrusting it back on the client, because, actually, it cannot be taken away from her. In each case, also, the worker starts where the client is: Miss X. catapulted from home and job is not even ready to acknowledge her obvious need of more permanent shelter or of a job to pay for it; Mrs. A. cannot meet the requirement of the agency for the service she is asking, and the worker directs her attention to Mrs. A.'s difficulty in letting her husband into her plans.

Helping the client to use his own capacities and resources is concentrated on the problem which he brings to the agency. The caseworker representing the agency is not demanding change in the client nor dictating what it shall be. The change in the client is dictated by what he wants and by what he must then individually do to achieve this. The dynamic that moves him is not the will of the caseworker, but his own will to move out of his predicament. The caseworker's

skill lies in helping him to struggle through all the conflicts in his situation, to go through that complicated process of "creating and operating himself" in relation to his needs which our biologists identify as the process of growth. The caseworker's sanction comes from the agency's responsibility for meeting social needs appropriately and constructively, that is, in a way that strengthens the client's organization of himself and that recognizes that out of his peculiar desires and capacities, from his individual resources, he must shape his life if he is to call it his own.

II. By Charlotte Towle

SOCIAL WORK is one of society's instruments for enabling the social conscience to find expression. The very core of social work is social reform. The very core of social casework is the rehabilitation of the individual. The stigmatized reformer is one who attempts to impose himself on others, to recreate the individual in his own wishful image, or mold the world to his own liking without realistic reference to needs, capacities, and motivations of individuals and groups.

In casework it is realized that one cannot rehabilitate another. Motivation and remotivation come from within the individual and his family group. As the individual and his family seek help, however, it is the responsibility of the social worker to maintain an unswerving identification with the social conscience. This means that he will bring his professional knowledge and skill, the authority which he carries as representative of a social agency, to bear upon the community to create conditions favorable for the individual's development and to provide opportunities for his growth. It means, also, that he will use his powers to help the individual become socially competent. The social worker continuously will understand the individual, but he will not necessarily affirm his feelings, his thinking, or his acts. A basic acceptance of the social reform motive, that is, the rehabilitative goal in social casework, is occurring as social workers increasingly see it as meeting human need rather than fear it as a violation of man's right to self-determination.

To bring this subject within limits, I am confining my discussion to those who are seeking help in some form and who it is reasonable, tentatively, to assume bring a certain wherewithal to the solution of

their difficulties. What wherewithal? First, there is some motivation to seek and presumably to use help; secondly, there is some capacity to tolerate limits and to face reality; and thirdly, in so far as these qualities prevail, there is some capacity for relationship and, consequently, a propensity for change if not for growth.

It might seem that I am selecting a small group of those clients who least need help. These are the people, however, who constitute a large proportion of the load of the social services. They come with troubled feelings from all walks of life, seeking specific services and help with problems of personal or interpersonal adjustment, such as disturbed parent-child relationships, marital difficulties, and general unhappiness due to maladjustments.

Unmet need in many forms has produced basic want which has engendered that sequence so familiar to social workers—fear, hatred, aggression (wishful or enacted), guilt and anxiety over retaliation resulting in confusion, indecision, submission, fragmentary aggression, and many other reactions which obstruct growth and effective living. This constitutes the soil in which defenses essential for survival have been reared, defenses which may hold or which may break under the pressure of circumstances which bring a given individual into an agency. Whether they serve him well or crumble will depend on (1) the nature and extent of the present pressures; (2) the nature of his early life relationships; and (3) the adequacy of the agency service as he seeks a solution to his present problem. These, then, are not the people who least need help. In the interests of preventing further difficulty they need it urgently. Turning to a social agency for help is a decisive episode in the life of an individual. It is therefore imperative that social workers increasingly help him affirm through use the strengths that he brings to the experience. It is important also that they understand the purposes served by his defenses. These must be seen, in many instances, as a resource to be conserved.

These ends will be attained in so far as throughout the helping relationship the worker's practice is governed by four general principles:

1. The dependency of the client has been met freely on the assumption that, normally, unmet dependency produces helplessness, resentment, anxiety, and confusion which, in turn, beget further dependency and social incompetence.

2. The caseworker has affirmed and helped the client use his

strengths through making it possible for him to talk freely, participate in thinking, planning, and doing throughout.

3. The client has not been threatened or put to rout by unrealistic demands, standards, or goals, by pressure for more than essential information, by premature interpretation, or by the worker's need for relationship beyond that sought by the client. This implies also that effort will be made to relieve adverse circumstances operating against the attainment of self-dependence.

4. Certain demands of the reality situation have not been ignored. Instead, the client has been helped to meet them.

Specifically, the worker's initial step is to bring a positive attitude to the interview, the attitude that an applicant is eligible for an agency's service until proved ineligible, that he is competent until proved incompetent, that he has a capacity for self-dependence until he convincingly reveals inability to use his right to self-determination. His approach continuously will be shaped by an intent to discern what help is wanted, needed, and can be used, why the need has arisen, and what the applicant brings to the situation which he can be enabled to use in his own behalf. Not what is the problem *per se,* but what needs the person is revealing is the concern which gives depth to our understanding of people. Disturbed feelings such as anxiety and resentment with resultant manifestations of dependency and confusion are usually in the foreground when people turn to an agency. In contrast, at such times, strengths may be obscure, those strengths which stem from mature readiness to cope with adverse circumstance or with oneself, as well as from relatively constructive defenses.

The worker's attitude will tend to ease feelings of humiliation and restore self-respect, at which point seemingly pathological projections, rationalizations, and defenses may subside. Instead of being driven defensively to exaggerate his problem or to minimize it, the client experiences social acceptance of his need. Because of a change in feeling about himself he may be able to view his problem more realistically, which often is the first step in taking positive action.

The first step in treatment is to provide favorable conditions for the client to talk productively. The social study, or what habitually has been termed the "history-taking" or "investigatory process," is one of the major measures whereby the client may be helped to use his own capacities and resources. It is not only a means whereby the worker may come to know the individual's needs, but one through

which his capacities and limitations may be differentiated. A selective history may enlighten the problem for worker and client.[1] Furthermore, it becomes the means to several other ends: First, in so far as the client talks spontaneously, participates in exploration, and assumes responsibility for making his needs known, it can early set the pattern of self-activity in his relationship with the agency. Secondly, in so far as both worker and client participate in the process so that it is a "thinking and feeling together to some purpose" [2] a working relationship is established. There has been an erroneous concept that one delays securing anything but minimum information until "a good relationship is established." There is no better way to obstruct the development of relationship. If one secures information in order to help, it must be secured early, and if the purpose has been shared with the client, the history-taking becomes a vital part of working together toward a solution. Thirdly, in so far as the client has been free to express what the problem means to him and to others close to him, in so far as he has recounted its onset as well as what he has done about it and with what results, in so far as he has been able to express his wishes and aspirations, together with the present obstacles to his plan, there frequently will have been certain benefits for him. The following gains repeatedly have been noted: change in feeling about the problem and about himself in relation to it, which may imply perspective, resolution of conflict, gain in understanding, in short, a general clarification or reorientation to his problematic situation. The social study may constitute the treatment process and the individual move immediately into the solution of his problem in instances of acute emotional upset over a difficulty wherein the individual's basic personality conflicts have not been activated and the total personality involved.

In the social study process there are certain principles to which experienced workers adhere conditionally:

1. There is general agreement that a client cannot talk productively alone to a monosyllabic, nondirective worker. It is recognized that the client will not know what the agency and he himself need to know

[1] For elaboration of social study as a scientific inquiry and also as a treatment process, see Charlotte Towle, "Underlying Skills of Case Work Today," *Social Service Review*, XV, No. 3 (September, 1941), 456–71.

[2] Florence Sytz, unpublished statement, "The Process of Making Tentative Diagnoses in Social Case Work," to the Curriculum Committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

in order to help him. Hence, it is the worker's responsibility explicitly to convey their joint need for information and to direct the inquiry in accordance with the client's need for help in talking relevantly and productively. This enables him to feel secure, to function competently. It prevents a feeling of being lost, entangled, and hence frustrated and confused in talking to no end. It helps him to use his capacities in coming to grips with the helping situation. The individual who is unable to participate under these conditions with a professionally mature worker leads one to question his motivation in seeking help, his readiness to use it, his capacity to tolerate limits and to meet reality demands, and his capacity for relationship.

2. We do not seek information beyond what we need to know in order to help. The variation in amount and kind of information sought and whether the study is oriented entirely to the present or also to the past obviously will vary in accordance with the nature of the problem and the function of the agency. Thus varying lengths of time will be involved in social study, for worker and client proceed together in exploration of the problem at the client's pace. Furthermore, a more intense relationship will be engendered in some situations than in others. Likewise, there will be great variation in the amount of emotion engaged and the extent of feeling provoked. An experienced worker will help the client deal with his anxiety, resentment, guilt, and other feelings in various ways: notably through acknowledgment and understanding of the feeling shown; through interpretation which stresses the helping purpose or his own therapeutic goal; through interpretation which universalizes; through setting time limits; through helping him center his attention on part of a problematic situation when over-all exploration is too involving of the total personality. When guilt is preventing movement into the helping relationship, the worker will help the client deal with it in various ways:

An ambivalent mother may be encouraged to state her reasons for placement of a child and in doing so may ease her guilt realistically through concentration on the factors which make this action necessary. She may ease it also through participation in the placement process and through activity in providing better care for him than she herself can at present provide.

A mother seeking help with a problem child gradually may move into assumption of her responsibility for the difficulty in so far as the worker draws in father and child and does not keep the inquiry and the treatment centered entirely on her.

A young widow who became illegitimately pregnant was overwhelmed with remorse and was so self-condemnatory and depressed that she could not plan realistically for the coming child, or protect her adolescent sons from disillusioning knowledge of her condition. She sat helplessly protesting her worthlessness and looking to the worker to do with her what she would. The latter had, first of all, to give the young woman permission to forgive herself, and this was done by recognizing the standards which she had for herself and leading her to appraise the needs which had driven her to fall short of them. Through the worker's recognition of her conscience and her needs, self-respect was sufficiently restored to enable her to manage her situation, move into placement of the baby, and plan a life for herself and sons whereby frustration and loneliness would not bring a repetition of the experience.

The problem of the release of hostility presents itself early in the exploration of a situation. Often it is essential that hostility be expressed in order that the need out of which it arises may be understood and met. We have continued to gain a deepened understanding of its import, both as it affects the personality adjustment of the individual and as it affects the treatment relationship. I can only repeat what I have said elsewhere:

> The skilled worker has learned to move slowly in this area and to observe intently the individual's response in relation to all that he has learned about him as a person so that hostility and anxiety may not be released beyond the capacity of the individual to deal with it, or beyond the circumstances of his situation to afford opportunities for the redirection of hostile impulses and the constructive utilization of anxiety.[3]

I emphasize that there is no better way to weaken the client's capacity than to break down his socially constructive defenses. There is no better way to precipitate hostile dependency than to elicit an expression of hostility beyond the control of the situation. And so I say again that the worker must learn

> ways of limiting the person. . . . He may set time limits or help the person handle his guilt through bringing out positive feelings to offset negative ones; he may interpret, reassure, permit or even help the person maintain some of his rationalizations and defenses; he may direct the individual to activity in the social setting or to activity comprised in steps in agency procedure through which the hostile impulses may be atoned and the anxiety eased.[4]

I have envisaged the worker as playing an active role. When the client's emotional pressure is the basis for the precipitous response, this is

[3] Towle, *op cit.*, p. 462. [4] *Ibid.*

necessary. He will need the worker's help because momentarily he is unable to limit himself. Often, however, the worker's active role is self-begotten. Because he has elicited too much hostility he is forced into action. The individual sometimes cannot use his inner capacities or the helping resources until hostility is released through the worker's acceptance of the unmet need out of which his feeling arises. When the client uses the worker's understanding as permission to enact his feelings his response must be limited. This frequently is done through attention to reality consequences and through conveying that it matters what happens to the client. Thus love and fear inhibit his unsocial impulses.

I think it is clear that trained workers have moved beyond that blind worship of the unburdening process which prevailed some years ago. The vague impression that in some mysterious way it was therapeutic for a client to unburden himself has been corrected through knowledge and experience. With intelligent use of this measure the worker keeps the client's feeling directed toward the reality situation, with attention on his present problem and on his purpose in seeking help.

In the early stage of the case, the worker's understanding of the client often is limited. The client's early responses, however, are made meaningful through the worker's knowledge and experience. He knows the client in the light of a basic understanding of the ego, its needs, its defenses, its adjustive mechanisms, as it operates in a helping process, and as it operates when faced with certain problems and life situations.

Certain vital life experiences which create common problems in relation to common human needs, age and prior life experience and present circumstance are known to him, i.e., asking for and taking help, illness, physical and mental handicap, failure in school, work, marriage, relationship loss through death, separation or sharing. These significant experiences have constituted a repetitive refrain in human maladjustment throughout the worker's experience. Likewise, certain kinds of life situations have been repetitive, as the state of poverty, being an immigrant, being an orphan, the state of unmarried motherhood, being a prisoner, being a soldier. Each of these situations again in relation to common human need, age, prior life experience has created a special state of being inducing common problems in personality development and social adjustment with which an experienced worker has become familiar.[5]

[5] Unpublished report of the Case Work Curriculum Committee, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, to the Curriculum Committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, November, 1947.

Hence, the worker's early formulation has been shaped in large part by the import which the client's verbalizing and initial response have had for the worker in the light of certain generalizations at which he has arrived. Quick and accurate diagnostic insight frequently is thus made possible. Decisive misunderstanding of the client as a particular entity, however, may result unless the worker continuously reaches out to know the client as an individual and to check impressions against early assumptions. Hence, it is as worker and client proceed together that early impressions are corrected and understanding is deepened. It is thus that a worker may come to a more precise knowledge of the client's personality structure in relation to his difficulties. It is thus that the individuality of the client will become more clear so that it will be possible, not only to differentiate characteristic ways of responding from situational responses, but also to gauge his strengths and capacity for change. Precise understanding of the ego structure, of its adaptive mechanisms with differentiation of strengths from precarious or flimsy defenses is decisively important in some forms of help. Therefore, it is around this knowledge that helping methods become more precisely differential and are used with a surer touch and a more predictable outcome.

Clients come to agencies largely for specific assistance, such as money, help in procuring medical care, help with employment, information concerning facilities for the care of children, help with household management, etc. The specific request represents an unmet need, but it may not be the basis of the social difficulty. To the client, however, the assistance is actually and psychologically vital in a situation which he is unable to carry alone. Almost invariably there are complicated feelings about not being self-sufficient. Hence, with each client the request involves a small or a large part of himself. Though the individual is not seeking help because of an emotional disturbance, he is disturbed, and the help given must take this factor into account.

Clients are disturbed, not only about the problem which has brought them to the agency, but also about the agency itself. On the one hand, they may feel relieved, even gratified, that here is a resource in time of need. On the other hand, they may resent the helping hand, fearful that their need will not be met or, if it is, that they will be unduly obligated in terms of gratitude and submission. Or, resenting their predicament, they may feel hostile toward those with whom they must share it. Since it is demoralizing to be the recipient in a relation-

ship in which one feels deprived, humiliated, and hostile, such feelings in connection with being unemployed, without funds, ill, handicapped, a failure as a parent, or the victim of circumstance must give way to feelings of adequacy, self-respect, and hope. The client's feelings of being victimized must be replaced by some realistic understanding of the factors and forces which have operated against him and by the reconditioning effect of an experience in which he is not victimized. Disturbed feelings in the helping relationship must give way to trust and a sense of one's right "to take" in the interests of rehabilitation.

Hence, our specific services will strengthen the client's capacities and inner resources in so far as they meet his realistic need and in so far as they are oriented to a sound understanding of him as an individual and are given in a relationship in which the meaning of the experience is understood and the disturbed feelings dealt with indirectly or directly. When services are administered without reference to his feelings they may demoralize him. In such practice lies the history of pauperization. It is for this reason that administration of the so-called "practical services" calls for casework knowledge, understanding, and skill.

There was a time when social workers assumed erroneously that the difficulties which brought clients to social agencies stemmed largely from ignorance. Hence, they torrentially handed out advice. Then came the day when they reacted against the practice rather than against their own lack of discrimination. Rejection of the guidance role was reinforced by the stereotyped use of prevailing concepts, such as the client's right to self-determination; skepticism as to an intellectual approach; the conviction that the client must struggle through to his own solutions and that if there is anything wrong, it must be a basic conflict to be righted.

Today the principles of progressive education operate within casework in the matter of giving counsel or advice. The giving must be oriented to felt need and readiness for it. In so far as advice provokes feeling, the feeling which interferes with learning is something to be released, understood, and sometimes interpreted. Under these conditions this measure can be a vital one in helping the client become more competent and more resourceful in dealing with related problems as well as with the major problem which brought him to the agency.

Today we are not so blindly worshipful of interpretation as a means to insight for the client as we were some years ago. Today we are not so fearful of it as a means to disturb him as we were yesterday. This obviously is because we are prepared for more discriminative use of it. We know also that insight often will be gained spontaneously by the client as he experiences change in feeling through other measures than interpretation. We know too that change in feeling may bring a change in action so that the problem is solved without insight gains. Interpretation as a means to understanding and insight, however, sometimes is essential for the client's maximum use of his capacities.

The principle that a new intellectual orientation may produce a change in feeling and thus facilitate learning and contribute to greater competence is a familiar one to educators. Hence, interpretation which produces understanding and insight may ease disturbed feelings with a threefold result for the client: energy may be released for productive purposes; the client gains the intellectual wherewithal for realistic self-direction; and he gains a sense of mastery over self in relation to people and circumstance. Thus as he copes with his social situation more competently, he becomes progressively more confident and resourceful.

Certain well-recognized principles in the use of interpretation are worth noting. Commonly it should be a mutual process with the client participating actively and the worker affirming and supplementing his self-interpretation. There are valid variations here, and in some instances it will be indicated for the worker to be more active than in others. Since clients commonly bring only a part of their life situation and a part of themselves into the casework relationship, care is taken that interpretation is partialized and does not involve the total personality. The total personality will be engaged only as the client incorporates interpretation and uses it. By and large, interpretation will deal with the client's response in present relationships and circumstances relevant to the immediate problem. It does not often deal with remote origins of present responses and difficulties. There are valid variations, however, in the extent to which causes and the past are explored and interpreted.

All helping measures operate within a relationship. It is an outgrowth of all these measures and has been a determinant both of their use and their usefulness. For example, the giving of advice, the timing and content of interpretation, the limiting or the extending of the

opportunity to unburden are frequently decided by the stage of development of the relationship. In addition, the professional relationship is in and of itself a treatment measure. Its characteristics are its confidential nature, its respectful nature, its dispassionate quality. Between client and worker it is a feeling, thinking, and doing together with some purpose, the client's need and purpose being the lodestar. Help for the client frequently derives through the fact that he has the opportunity, in time of trouble, to experience the response of a worker who sees his problem differently, feels it differently, but sympathetically understands.

Clients will react to the relationship realistically or unrealistically in accordance with their need. To some extent, the relationship repeats an old relationship; that is, it meets a need met by a former relationship, out of which the individual's present conflicts arise. It repeats with a difference; and that difference is decisive, for it constitutes the corrective element which makes treatment possible. For example, the corrective element may lie in a worker's permissive attitude which eases guilt or in an authoritative one through which the client's conscience is strengthened. In so far as a worker has knowledge, skill, and emotional capacity to assume responsibility for its management to productive ends the relationship element in the helping process will have benefited the client in various ways to varying degrees. Through the relationship he may have experienced change in feeling and thinking as an easing of guilt or reinforcement of conscience. He may have gained perspective, a new feeling of security, a modified identity through which he makes more vital use of the agency's several helping measures and deals with his social situation more effectively. As this occurs, his capacities and inner resources are strengthened so that gradually the relationship with the worker and the help of the agency are needed no longer.

The client's response in terminating is a natural outgrowth of what the total agency service and the relationship have meant to him. Consequently, termination may be self-initiated and moved into without a struggle. In other instances it will be resisted so that the client will need help in understanding his response, in clarifying disturbed feeling about termination, and in appraising himself and his situation realistically so that he can proceed strengthened rather than threatened. Life circumstances and the response of others to the client often will be a factor in its timing in that they affect his use of

help in his social situation. The client's need will guide the worker in this final aspect of the helping process.

In summary it may be said that the worker is responsible for conducting the helping process. Because he exerts, for the client's welfare, those controls implicit in professional responsibility it does not follow that the relationship is a controlling one. It is essential that the worker bring a positive attitude to the situation, for it is through experiencing acceptance and understanding that the client becomes self-understanding and self-directive. Emotional acceptance of the helping process is sought rather than submission to it. Submission implies "being done to and for," whereas acceptance involves taking something and making it one's own, "doing rather than being done to."

Methods must be oriented continuously to the client's need in relation to his purpose in seeking help. Agency function and community resources will determine, not only what he can be helped to do, but also the mode of working. In the context of the times in which conditions of family and community life have not been and are not now supportive, social workers can well tread lightly on defenses essential for the survival of the individual personality. Enduring sublimations and constructive defenses stem largely from gratification rather than from deprivation. If energy now used to maintain precarious defenses is to be redirected toward socialized living, every individual must have sufficient security to be assured, not merely survival but also opportunity for realization of his capacities. Social casework can play a small but important part in the lives of many individuals at a decisive time. The modern caseworker cherishes no illusions. He looks beyond casework with deep concern for the greater participation of his profession in welfare programs and social planning to effect that social and economic change essential for the attainment of the aims of democracy.

TRENDS IN DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT IN CASEWORK

By Lucille N. Austin

THE OBJECTIVE OF SOCIAL CASEWORK from its beginning has been to foster personality adjustment. Mary Richmond gave us our first definition: "Social casework consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected between man and his social environment." We have come to know more fully what is involved in the process of helping the individual make these adjustments. We see now that sometimes the environment must be modified and sometimes behavior and attitudes must be modified before these adjustments can be effected.

Although some efforts were directed toward changing personal habits and characteristic responses by moral suasion and exhortation, the main emphasis in early casework treatment was placed on modification through the environment. This happened naturally because casework antedated the development of psychological therapy, and because clients were in the main from the economically depressed groups. It became apparent that many persons had trouble in social functioning because they had an unfavorable environment. Hence, casework took leadership in organizing social resources and also, out of its experience, developed a process for individualizing clients' needs and a method of helping them use social services constructively. This venture assumed large proportions, overshadowing the attempts to deal with personality factors affecting adequate social adjustment. It looked for a time as if what had started as a means to an end had become an end in itself and, as a result, casework was equated with the process of meeting need.

Two important developments led to clarification of the treatment role in casework: first, psychoanalysis, which became available in the early twenties, gave us a highly useful psychology; and, secondly, the development of public assistance and insurance programs in the thirties, culminating in the passage of the Social Security Act, correctly lodged in government responsibility for meeting need. Case-

work was freed to proceed with its original conception of a treatment process directed toward problems of personality unadjustment as they are reflected in the individual's inability to function socially or as these maladjustments are caused by social dislocations. The aim is to restore the individual to social functioning or to help him develop this capacity in order, again quoting Miss Richmond, "that he may achieve at one and the same time his own and society's betterment." While new relationships were being worked out with public agencies for the meeting of economic need, new relationships were developing between casework and psychiatry. In some cities the child guidance clinics offered consultation services to agency workers. Since this service was necessarily limited, some social agencies engaged part-time psychiatric staff members or arranged for consultations with private psychoanalysts. Simultaneously, these agencies often contracted for psychiatric seminars by the consultants to enable staff members to develop theoretical knowledge and to examine typical case problems in order to get new directions. This kind of collaboration has taken place in many centers in the last fifteen years, particularly in family agencies, children's agencies, medical social service departments, psychiatric clinics, and in military clinical settings during the war.

Throughout its history, casework has worked on treatment methods as they have evolved from one stage to another. We first directed our attention to environmental treatment. Later the terms "intensive treatment" and "direct treatment" appeared, signifying an awareness that psychological factors were being dealt with and that new techniques were in the process of formation. The first efforts to influence behavior and attitudes through psychological skills rather than environmental conditioning alone appeared in the late twenties, first in child guidance agencies and soon after in family, medical, and children's agencies. Reformulations in Freudian theory in 1933[1] postulated a new understanding of the ego, that part of the personality that is in control of social adaptations; of the role of anxiety; and of the nature of the defense mechanisms. The emphasis on the ego was more readily useful to casework in its efforts to influence adaptive capacities than was the early emphasis on the "unconscious." This new theory also made for shifts in psychoanalytic technique, placing

[1] See Sigmund Freud, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (New York: Norton, 1933).

greater weight on current reality adaptations as well as on the analysis of the childhood neurosis. Hence casework and psychoanalysis drew closer together in their common aims. Each profession reached its present formulation of methods of psychotherapy within the disciplines of its own practice but with extensions, by both, of areas of responsibility and treatment skills. The meeting ground, psychotherapy, is a more partial therapy than psychoanalysis and a more comprehensive therapy than our former "intensive" treatment.

As we see it now, psychotherapy may be practiced by either the caseworker or the psychiatrist, if he has the requisite training. At the present time psychotherapy in casework is being conducted in conjunction with consulting psychoanalysts who aid in establishing controls through diagnosis and by the teaching of dynamics that underlie the development of treatment skills. People whose major complaints are concerned with symptoms tend to go to the psychiatrist and are more specifically a psychiatric responsibility, while persons with breakdowns in social relationships, marital relationships, work adjustments, and parent-child relationships, and who have some awareness of psychological components in their problem, may seek either psychiatry or casework. It would seem that persons who project their inner problems on social difficulties and who act out their problems will more often find their way to the social agency. Either profession may refer patients to the other. Psychotherapy with children is a separate subject which has received attention in recent publications.[2]

With this somewhat lengthy introduction we must face the problem of attempting to redefine classifications of casework treatment methods. It seems valid to differentiate first between two main methods in casework, social therapy and psychotherapy.

Social therapy in casework consists primarily of the use of techniques designed to influence positively various factors in the environment and of the effective use of social resources. Social therapy is appropriate in situations where causation lies mainly in the external environment. Factors such as loss of income because of illness, disturbances in the economic balance resulting in depressions or periods of inflation, death or illness of parents with the resulting disruption

[2] See Frederick H. Allen, *Psychotherapy with Children* (New York: Norton, 1942); Gordon Hamilton, *Psychotherapy in Child Guidance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947); Child Therapy, a Casework Symposium, ed. Eleanor Clifton and Florence Hollis (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1948).

of the household, create a group of social difficulties. Appropriate care for the aged, the disabled, and the handicapped also calls for individualized social care.

The study involves a diagnosis of the personality and of the social situation. Treatment involves the use of the worker-client relationship, which in this method is primarily on an object relationship basis calling for courtesy, respect, and sympathy. The relationship is the medium through which the client is enabled to state his problem and through which attention can be directed to reality problems, which may be as full of conflict as emotional problems. Some common elements of this treatment are helping the client to make use of the social services, opening opportunity for better contacts with reality, and changing negative factors in the environment. The main psychological aims are the prevention of bad effects of accumulated strains and the preservation of attitudes of self-confidence through encouragement, reassurance, and clarification of reality issues. In this method, as in any therapeutic work, directive and educational techniques must be used sparingly; the client too often reacts with the feeling that the worker wishes to improve or reprove him. Social therapy, thus defined, includes some of the elements of the old classification of environmental treatment but is enriched by the use of relationship in treatment and by psychological knowledge about the way external dangers generate anxiety and weaken the ego.

It is important to point out that we are not defining social therapy as merely offering social services separate from casework with its basic structure of individual diagnosis and treatment; nor is psychotherapy in casework divorced from social services. Relationship and the utilization of resources are used in both methods but are used differently and for different ends. In all casework, knowledge about family diagnosis remains important, and the family rather than the single patient continues as the unit of focus.

Psychotherapy is designed to bring about some modification of behavior and attitudes, and rests on a diagnosis of the total personality. It takes place in the relationship between two people, the therapist and the client. The techniques involve the development and use of the transference aspects of the worker-client relationship, the use of ego strengths, understanding and use of the unconscious motivations manifested in the ego, the modification of destructive defenses, and

the use of the environment. Dr. Ackerman defines it thus: "Psychotherapy is a systematic interpersonal procedure in which a professionally qualified person exercises a deliberate, controlled influence on the psychic functions of the patient. The aims of such procedures are, on the one hand, to eliminate psychic disabilities, and, on the other, to promote positive, healthful growth of personality." [3]

It is generally agreed that there are two main approaches within the classification of psychotherapy—insight therapy and supportive therapy. A third intermediary approach is not given a separate identity but is described as a blending of the two sets of techniques. This is an important method in casework which I shall describe in more detail. There is naturally some overlapping of techniques in all these approaches, but it is possible to describe three main subdivisions:

Supportive therapy.—Supportive treatment was used first in casework within the framework of social treatment as a way of working with chronic cases. The aim was the prevention of further breakdown. As diagnostic processes were refined, it became apparent that the primary reasons for the pathology and chronicity in many of these cases were to be found in the personality of one or more of the family group rather than in the environment. Therefore, treatment should be directed to an understanding of the personality and the use of psychotherapeutic techniques.

It is important to stress that this is an ego-supportive process—a supporting of strengths—and that it is a dynamic rather than a static process. It might more precisely be termed "ego-supportive therapy." Supportive techniques include reassurance, permissive attitudes that relieve guilt, and a protective relationship along with work in the environment and use of social services when indicated. The understanding of the transference and the total family diagnosis form the basis for the relationship. This relationship is used, not to motivate change, but to support the client's acceptable existing aims, and to protect them from undue pressure which could contribute to a breakdown.

This therapy is particularly suitable for clients with weak ego structures. These cases include prepsychotic and psychotic persons, infantile character structures, and, often, severe neurotics. These are people

[3] Nathan W. Ackerman, "The Training of Non-medical Personnel in Psychotherapy." Paper given at the Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, New York, April, 1948.

who are well enough to live in the community and participate in certain aspects of adequate social functioning. They are often referred to casework agencies by other agencies.

Although the treatment is recognized as limited, designed primarily to maintain present strengths, experience has indicated that psychological improvement often occurs. As anxiety diminishes, the ego gains strength to handle immediate situations, and the experience of more adequate functioning becomes itself a growth process. Also the support extended to other members of the family unit often leads to realignments of roles and healthier family relationships. The S. case is an example:

This family had, in five years, two brief contacts with a private family agency and one contact with a public welfare agency. They needed financial assistance when Mr. S. was changing jobs. The study revealed that Mr. S. was a psychopathic personality who, surprisingly, had settled down to fairly steady work since his marriage. Mrs. S. had great capacity and need to mother anyone needing affection. Her mother died when Mrs. S. was seven, and she seemed to have incorporated the mother in identification and molded her actions accordingly. She married Mr. S. because she was sure she could make something of him. She loved him completely, denying him nothing. She catered to his food fads, was proud of him when he dressed well, and admired his charm. She provided the complete gratification of infantile needs which psychiatrists have indicated is necessary in any experimental therapy with a psychopath. Here Mr. S. had it in a real life relationship, and in return he worked and showed no tendency to delinquency. He liked the children, and they loved him because he played with them and was one of them.

The primary contact was carried with Mrs. S. who early warned the worker that her destiny was to develop Mr. S. and that she wanted no criticism of him or sympathy for herself. She indicated this as she told how she broke contact with her family, who had not approved the marriage and had suggested that she leave Mr. S. The worker accepted her hopes for the future and showed she understood that Mrs. S. had much at stake. At significant points when Mr. S's selfishness and unconcern for Mrs. S. were indicated by Mrs. S.'s lack of clothing, and so on, the worker did not comment, but again accepted Mrs. S.'s feeling that this was of secondary importance. In the relationship Mrs. S. had a worker who perceived the difficulties Mrs. S. had and accepted her primary goal as most important. She did not try to get Mrs. S. to concentrate on a different picture of her husband, or to visualize herself as a long-suffering person. The quality of the relationship deepened as the worker's comprehension of the individual problem and the family balance increased. Mrs. S. was strengthened as she felt she had an ally in the caseworker.

In contact with Mr. S. the worker took him at his own narcissistic evaluation. Financial assistance was given realistically but willingly and then terminated according to plans with both Mr. and Mrs. S. The worker had a check on the welfare of the children through home visits and observation of Mr. and Mrs. S. with the children. Nursery care was arranged which helped the children and relieved Mrs. S. In this case a psychopath was protected from breakdown and kept in a socially useful role, a neurotic woman was sustained, and a home was continued for children in their early years. The case will probably reopen. In that event, unless there are major new developments, treatment should be based on consideration of the points outlined here.

This limited but useful psychotherapy has received considerable attention in agencies, and it has been amply demonstrated that its use is a social economy when compared with the costs of institutional care, placement of children, and the disruption of homes.

Intermediary or "experimental" therapy.—The intermediary therapy has not been given a separate identity in psychoanalytic literature but is described as a blending of the techniques of supportive therapy and insight therapy. It is an important casework classification, identified out of experience with people whose problems center in recognizable social difficulties. It aims to bring about some change in behavior and attitudes. In this group, change represents primarily better adaptations within the existing personality structure, although in certain cases maturation already under way is carried through to completion. Change is brought about through the use of the transference as the dynamic for providing a corrective emotional experience and through stimulating growth experiences in the social reality. In some cases, selected interpretations may be used. Treatment is primarily based on positive experience both in the transference and in life situations. Its objectives are mainly loosening restrictive ties to figures in the past, redirecting emotional energies, and promoting growth through increased satisfactions in living. It might not be inaccurate to speak of it as "experimental" therapy. It differs from ego-supportive therapy in that we do expect and secure change in behavior.

1. The central point is the development and use of the transference as a corrective emotional experience. Even in insight therapy the emotional readjustment that develops through the use of the transference must precede the development of insight and is the primary

motivating force toward the re-education of the personality. There is not space to develop the nature of techniques on the use of the transference. Recent papers [4] have described this in detail. We know that the client deposits his emotional needs on the worker. Since the worker understands them and is not rejecting or critical as the parents were, or were thought to be by the client, the client responds by giving the therapist a position of influence in his life. Anxiety is lessened, and the ego relaxes its defenses to some extent. The client then is amenable to some corrections in his way of relating to reality. Through an attachment to, and then an identification with, the therapist he feels like acting differently. In the course of the treatment he is helped to discharge emotion; guilt is frequently alleviated, and, as the client makes confessions, he gets a better feeling about himself. Then he frequently begins to look better and to mobilize energy. We recognize that "transference cures" may be transitory, but they may also become permanent.

2. Transference responses can be stabilized into some degree of permanence more readily if the client is helped to more positive experiencing in reality. This can be brought about both through his new strength, which makes him more active in his own behalf, and through the activity of the caseworker in the environment when this is needed. Dr. Franz Alexander writes, "No insight, no emotional discharge, no recollections can be as reassuring as accomplishment in the actual life situation in which the individual failed. . . . Fostering favorable experiences in the actual life situation at the right moment in the treatment tends to make for economical psychotherapy, bringing it to an earlier conclusion than otherwise." [5]

3. In some cases, carefully selected interpretative techniques will be used to further the client's self-understanding. In insight therapy some unconscious motivations are brought into consciousness through the use of interpretations. In this intermediary therapy insight is not the main goal. The readjustments are on a more unconscious level. But in some cases the client will be helped to gain some increased awareness of what his typical reaction patterns are, and he will be

[4] See Richard Sterba, Benjamin H. Lyndon, and Anna Katz, *Transference in Casework* (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1948); Regina Flesch, *Treatment Considerations in the Reassignment of Clients* (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1947); Annette Garrett, "Use of the Transference in Casework," paper given at the Annual meeting of American Orthopsychiatric Association, New York, April, 1948.
[5] Franz Alexander, *Psychoanalytic Therapy* (New York: Ronald, 1946), pp. 40, 41.

helped to an evaluation of their uselessness or destructive qualities, since they make problems for him and keep him from making the better adjustment of which he is capable. This process can be effective when the ego is relatively strong or has partial strength. It can proceed only when the transference has been well established.

This level of self-awareness is developed primarily through dynamic rather than genetic interpretation; current experiences are utilized rather than genetic material touching deeper levels of emotion which underlie the defenses. The groundwork is laid through preliminary techniques of clarification of reality as the therapist indicates in various direct or indirect ways his recognition of the client's projections and distortions.

Cases that have responded to this method include several groupings: adolescents whose ego is not strong enough to tolerate deeper insight; young adults who have not fully resolved their oedipal ties or their dependency conflicts and cannot make adult adjustments in work or in independent living arrangements, or in handling their marital problems and parent-child relationships; some more severely neurotic clients whose egos are strong enough to make a better reality adjustment; some schizoid personalities and schizophrenics where ego controls exist. Some of these cases may be tested for insight therapy, but where the client lacks the wish or the capacity for that kind of help or where a simple therapy will suffice this intermediary therapy may be indicated. Experienced workers are increasingly able to diagnose and plan treatment independently in these cases, using consultation from time to time to check and when any unusual features are present.

Mr. H. was a veteran bent on securing compensation for a cardiac disability which he insisted had developed during his Army service. He was hostile and had a strong paranoid attitude toward all the veteran agencies and everyone in his environment. He was impatient, would not wait to fill out forms, and then complained because he got no results. In addition, he was having trouble with his wife. She was ten years older than he and had an adolescent daughter by a former marriage.

The first consultation consisted of trying to clarify through hospital reports and Army records his claims for compensation. The relationship was permitted to develop through an acceptance of Mr. H.'s feelings about the bad treatment he was receiving everywhere. From the brief history and early interviews it was apparent that Mr. H. felt that someone always separated him from a mother. His own mother died when he was a baby, and foster parents cared for him. He felt that they never loved him as much as they did their own child. Then his wife preferred her daughter. The case-

worker arranged for another worker to talk with Mrs. H. That worker verified that Mrs. H. was partial to her daughter, needed a great deal of love herself, and was unable to give Mr. H. much.

In the next psychiatric consultation, plans were made for the worker to give some gratification in the relationship such as money when checks were held up and some extras for Mr. H.'s personal expenses within "a reality but not a pinch-penny handling of relief." The diagnosis was neurosis with some question about the ego strength, but there was evidence that Mr. H. might be helped through the use of the transference and, at any rate, helped to get what benefits he was entitled to from the government.

After the first two months the transference was firmly established but with strong reality orientation—because of the emphasis on the medical care program and claims procedures—rather than inward toward intrapsychic material. The consulting analyst suggested testing Mr. H.'s capacity for limited insight about his critical, demanding approach to people, which so often complicated reality for him. The interviewing was shifted to more careful consideration of Mr. H.'s accounts of the way he was mistreated by the clinic, the Veterans Administration, and so on. The worker sometimes let a silence follow an outburst, then occasionally asked whether he was sure the incident happened quite that way. The next step was to ask Mr. H. one day, when it was clear that he had provoked a rejection, if anything he might have done could have caused the problem. He shamefacedly agreed and began to talk about his temper; he guessed he was supersensitive. The caseworker agreed and talked about why this was understandable.

Following is an excerpt from a later interview after Mr. H. had made a new contact with a vocational service and taken tests for a training course:

From the first Mr. H. felt that the workers were kind and intelligent people who knew their business. His first reaction was, "Here is an agency for veterans which really helps them." At first he thought he received special treatment because I had referred him. I told him they had his records and psychological tests and would help him because of his own ability.Then he talked for the first time of his lack of confidence, his inability to believe he could do things well because his foster parents always belittled his efforts. We talked about how this had made it hard but that now he could evaluate his ability more realistically.

In the next interview he said this vocational agency experience, plus our contact, had almost made him believe that there are decent, kind people in the world. He got "nervous" at one point and wanted to tell the interviewer that it was nonsense, to argue about it, or just to go home, but he decided it was something he had to go through with in order to get what he wanted. There were ups and downs, but Mr. H. gradually made better contacts, completed his training, did not develop a compensation neurosis, and ended the contact with an improved adjustment.

This case was much more complicated than I have indicated, but it illustrates the way in which a corrective experience in the transference, a positive experience in the environment, plus some interpretative techniques that feature an examination of a destructive defense mechanism, can bring about ego strengthening and a modification of the defensive pattern. Psychiatric consultation is necessary in these cases to establish the diagnosis, supervise the transference, and guide the selected interpretations.

Insight therapy.—The assumption of a fuller responsibility for insight therapy in casework has also been under experimentation for a fairly long period. Our attitudes have been cautious and sometimes ambivalent so that we have not fully benefited from our experiments or appreciated the progress we have made. We have viewed every experiment as "special work," as "justified because we might learn things that would help us in other less intensive kinds of casework," or "as the province of a few highly gifted workers." Allowing for all the necessary safeguards and for the need for additional training, there is evidence that this extension in casework method is essential if we are to be realistic about meeting problems of social malfunctioning.

I shall only outline this method. Recent publications [6] have given reports of treatment method and descriptive cases. Uncovering, or insight therapy, is aimed at achieving a change in the ego by developing the patient's insight into his difficulties and increasing the ability of the ego to deal with them through the emotional experience in the transference situation. Psychiatric consultation is necessary to establish the diagnosis and suitability for this treatment and for continuous supervision of treatment.

The main technical problems center in the selection of appropriate cases, the selection of the central problem to be brought under treatment, the development of interpretative techniques which aid the client in gaining understanding of unconscious feelings and motivations conditioning his defensive patterns, and the kind of environmental activity that can be appropriately introduced. The mild neu-

[6] See Sterba, Lyndon, and Katz, *op cit.;* Ackerman, *op cit.;* Gordon Hamilton, "Psychoanalytic Orientation in Casework," paper given at the Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, New York, April, 1948; Helen Ross and Adelaide M. Johnson, M.D., "The Growing Science of Casework," *Journal of Social Casework,* XXVII, No. 7 (November, 1946), 273–82; Mary E. Rall, "Dependency and the Adolescent," *Journal of Social Casework,* XXVIII, No. 4 (April, 1947) 123–30; Ralph Ormsby, "Interpretations in Casework Therapy," *Journal of Social Casework,* XXIX, No. 4 (April, 1948), 135–41.

roses and character problems are suggested as the main types of case in which this method can be employed, since the ego is usually strong enough to tolerate this kind of introspection. Further study is indicated in order to establish suitable criteria for selection.

The transference relationship is used to help the client understand his irrational impulses, how they arose in the past, and how the present situation differs so that he may modify his behavior accordingly. The transference must be controlled in intensity, however, so as not to interfere with the client's judgment and coöperation.[7] The transference may be interpreted when the client's attitudes toward the therapist are used as resistance to going on toward further insight or a greater maturity in his real life situations.

Interpretative techniques are used to lead the client gradually into greater awareness of the nature and extent of his feelings and of the unconscious motivations that underlie his actions. Relevant childhood memories are recalled and blocking emotions discharged.

If we restrict the type of problem and restrict the level of the conflict which will be treated by this method it would seem best to let the process develop in the light of therapeutic needs of the case in this next period of experimentation. Restrictions set up in advance "because certain activity does not seem appropriate for casework" will invalidate experimentation. What may have been accepted as true traditionally may not be true forever in the light of new knowledge. What we can do will, of course, be influenced by the kind of training we prescribe for the worker.

You will notice that I have emphasized throughout the increased use of psychiatric consultation as a necessity. It has been feared by some that casework would lose its identity through this collaborative work. This has not happened; indeed, new opportunities for constructive work have been opened up. The value of interdependence rather than isolation is perhaps the lesson this age teaches us.

The implications for the training of caseworkers cannot be bypassed. A more dynamic teaching of psychiatry is indicated, based on the assumption that the caseworker will need it for a more direct responsibility in treating psychological problems. Casework teaching, too, must accept this responsibility and guide the student from the beginning of his training to assess his interest and capacity for therapeutic work. In the two-year training period the student learns social

[7] For further discussion see Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84.

treatment and is initiated into beginning phases of psychotherapy, particularly ego-supportive therapy and the intermediary techniques. He will need at least from three to five years of practice in an agency under casework supervision and with additional psychiatric seminars and psychiatric consultation on individual cases to establish a proficiency in treatment. Recognizing that further graduate work is indicated on the basis of the in-service training programs worked out in leading agencies, some schools are offering a third year of study, following a minimum of two years' experience after the Master's degree.

Casework training has already accepted the responsibility that the caseworker's own attitudes and personality must be modified to make him a responsible person in his position of giving help to others. Sometimes this is adequately accomplished as an outgrowth of the training experience which is furthered by the threefold approach of supervised field work, classroom teaching, and individualized student advising by the school faculty, and as learning continues in the internship period under supervision. Sometimes it involves a personal psychoanalysis.

The future in casework therapy looks promising. Methods have developed out of the therapeutic intent which has characterized this profession. Our traditional training has already given us background and partial training in techniques that make psychotherapy a logical, gradual extension in casework rather than a right-about-face. Increased understanding of the problems for which we originally accepted responsibility necessitates these revisions and extensions of method.

CASEWORK AND THE NEW EMPHASIS ON AN OLD CONCEPT IN MEDICINE

By Eleanor Cockerill

SOCIAL CASEWORKERS IN ALL FIELDS engage at some point in helping individuals in whom a disease syndrome has been identified. In general, we have rather limited understanding of the concept of disease. Our attention has been drawn to the fact that the symptoms which are usually regarded as the disease itself are actually only descriptive of the nature of a problem in adjustment and indicative of the particular way in which the individual is attempting to resolve it. Thus we can recognize that even in the presence of disease, the human organism is actively engaged in "doing something about something" and that this activity is directed toward the recovery of ease or the restoration of "wholeness."

This viewpoint enables us to perceive some relation between the numerous disease syndromes which have previously seemed to fall into rather separate categories. The psychoses and neuroses, which are described largely in psychological language, do not seem so different in dynamics from tuberculosis and rheumatic fever, which are described largely in physiological language. The fact that the same dynamic principles underlie all these syndromes should help us to bring together in a meaningful way the isolated information we have previously acquired about schizophrenia, heart disease, neurasthenia, obsessive neurosis, involutional melancholia, infantile paralysis, etc. In general, the teaching in schools of social work has not enabled us to achieve this fusion of knowledge about different disease syndromes because it has directed our attention to the specific characteristics of each rather than to the dynamics which are common to all of them. As practitioners, we must be aware of this gap in our preparation and assume responsibility for acquiring a more dynamic understanding of disease. It is also essential that this orientation be incorporated in the curriculum of schools of social work so that graduates of the future may benefit from a more adequate basic frame of reference.

In recent years we have, to an increasing degree, recognized the

importance of identifying with the healthy component within the individual's general pattern of functioning. This has been an appropriate emphasis in social casework and one which needs even further refinement and implementation through increased skill. It has, however, tended to lead us into the error of attempting to separate too completely the behavior of a person from that individual's behavior when he is ill, with consequent failure on our part to take cognizance of the close relationship which exists among the multiple activities of the human organism which serve the general purpose of maintaining equilibrium. We sometimes fail to recognize the real strength and capacity reflected in the symptomatic behavior of the individual which we may tend to view as evidence only of pathology or lack of adequacy. If we isolate ourselves too completely from these efforts of the human organism to save itself, we fail to make available the real help which we can give as social caseworkers for the purpose of enabling the individual to effect an adjustment on the basis least costly to himself and to others. The real significance of our professional helping process stems from our effectiveness in implementing the individual's own efforts in such a way that he can achieve his purpose with minimum cost. We have various ways of helping, and we should center our attention on understanding the problem of the individual, identifying his needs, and evaluating the degree and kind of help he requires from others. This is an essential process if we are actually to individualize our clients.

One of the important things we have learned is that the behavior of the human organism in health and in disease is the response to a multiplicity of factors which stem from the inner and outer environment of the individual. We have, no doubt, acquired even greater respect for the adaptive capacity of man as we have become aware of the infinite adaptive mechanisms with which the human being is endowed. It has been apparent, however, that the balance which is achieved may be quite precarious and is either strengthened or upset by some slight alteration in one of the factors involved in the adjustment. In other words, it is not possible to deal with one phase of the individual's adjustment without exerting some influence, negative or positive, upon what happens in relation to the total economy of the organism. This principle is an important one for social caseworkers because our services to an individual may fail to meet his real need if we confine our attention too narrowly to only one aspect of his

problem and fail to take into account how this is related to the other disturbances in adjustment which are apparent.

This point of view does not mean that the physician or the social caseworker should accept less responsibility for carrying on the specific functions inherent in his profession or his specialty or in the agency which he represents. Nor does it preclude the recognition that the individual client or patient may require help outside the competence of one practitioner or services which are not available within one particular agency. It does emphasize, however, that the real meaning and usefulness of the specific services extended to the client by a particular agency are dependent upon what the professional practitioner himself brings to the helping situation in terms of awareness of expressed and unexpressed need and of skill in helping the client to achieve and sustain greater ease and thus maintain his total economy on a basis less costly to himself and to others.

I shall attempt to support this assertion by an illustration drawn from the field of public assistance. Mr. A. was visited by a caseworker when his eligibility for continued old age assistance was to be reviewed and evaluated. This was a necessary procedure and realistically related to the purpose of the agency and the responsibility of the worker. Mr. A. accepted the necessity for this review and participated actively and responsibly, mentioning the fact that he had been working occasionally in a barber shop. An examination of his earnings indicated that the total amount was within a few dollars of the upper limit of what he might be allowed to earn before a reduction in the amount of his grant would have to be made. Mr. A. offered no protest because he had been given some understanding of this policy when his eligibility was established. He agreed with the caseworker that he was no longer entitled to a full grant, and the interview had apparently achieved the purpose for which it had been conducted.

That night, Mr. A. suffered a severe asthmatic attack which necessitated his immediate hospitalization and lead to subsequent invalidism and inability to continue his efforts to be partially self-maintaining. A review of the public assistance record is quite informative about the nature of Mr. A.'s problem. It reveals a long list of successive hospitalizations for asthmatic attacks over a period of years prior to the time when he became a recipient of public assistance. His application to this agency was related to his separation from his mother and the establishment of himself in a light-

housekeeping room. There is nothing in the record which throws light on the factors which motivated this effort to emancipate himself, but the separation was achieved somehow, and his public assistance grant played an important part in this achievement. Although his asthmatic symptoms persisted after the separation they were not sufficiently severe to require hospitalization, and Mr. A. felt able to work occasionally in the barber shop. At the time of the review of eligibility, it seems that Mr. A. had achieved some sort of balance which was less costly to himself and the community than had been true when his previous asthmatic seizures rendered him ineffectual and dependent as well as physically uncomfortable.

With this information as a background, we can more fully appreciate the real significance for Mr. A. of the eligibility review and the necessity for reduction in his grant. Mr. A.'s severe asthmatic seizure which followed the interview now becomes more understandable as expressive of his real reaction to the loss he felt in relation to his changed status as a public assistance recipient.

In retrospect, it seems regrettable that the worker concentrated so exclusively on the process of review and did not perceive its relationship to the underlying problem of her client. Apparently, the rather full medical reports in the case folder had been of limited value, serving only to supply a diagnosis and to verify the limited physical capacity of the client. The information available about the improvement in the asthmatic symptoms and the abrupt cessation of hospitalizations which followed Mr. A.'s establishment of separate living quarters had apparently not been utilized in the worker's review. Realistically, the grant probably had to be reduced, but the worker did not meet his full professional responsibility when he failed to help Mr. A. make some substitution for this very important "prop" which was vital in his economy. It is probable that even a fuller exploration of his feeling concerning the reduction in grant would have been only partially effective unless it had lead to some real effort to supply what Mr. A. so definitely needed in terms of emotional support, although he might not himself be consciously aware of his need for this help.

It is reasonable to assume that this need could have been met by another social agency, or by the social service department in the hospital through which Mr. A. was receiving medical supervision. In any event, this illustration indicates how unsound it is for the social

work practitioner to train his help too narrowly upon an isolated problem and to regard the other problems of the client as belonging to an entirely different area of his functioning. The client frequently is unable to identify for himself the relationship which exists between different problems that are facing him simultaneously and impinging upon his comfort and capacity to function. He may appropriately see them as separate and different problems and seek help from a number of sources. He may, to a certain degree, be able to integrate within himself the help he obtains from different sources. He is indeed fortunate if his professional helpers are able to further this integration by their own awareness of the relationship between his diversified difficulties in adjustment.

A medical social worker was asked to help a young, unmarried, pregnant woman to deal with the problems arising from the fact that she required radical surgery for the removal of her cancerous breast. The physician felt that his patient had a great deal to cope with and probably could benefit from the help of the social worker. The immediate step to be taken by the young woman was that of coming into the hospital for the operation, which needed to be performed promptly because of the pregnancy. In the caseworker's interviews with Miss B., few problems were identified which related to the hospitalization itself or to the operation. In fact, it seemed significant that Miss B. did not express the usual doubts and fears which are ordinarily aroused by the diagnosis of cancer and the recommendation for radical surgery. She expressed no real desire for the help of the worker in this area. It was apparent, however, that she was feeling concern about the fact that she had been unable to tell her mother about her pregnancy. She had taken some steps toward planning for her approaching motherhood and for meeting its responsibilities, but this activity on her part had not seemed to result in any real sense of security. She was indecisive about whether she would tell her mother and questioned her ability to carry through this step. As the worker became aware of this concern of Miss B., she recognized that although it had initially seemed to relate to something outside the immediate problem of hospitalization which had brought them together, it was indeed closely related to it. She, therefore, shifted her main interest from the hospitalization to Miss B.'s problem in relation to her mother. Eventually, the patient was able to reveal her situation to her mother. Having achieved some security in relation to this, she was

able to involve herself in the surgical experience. Undoubtedly, the increase in ease which accompanied the effecting of a more satisfying relationship with her mother enabled Miss B. to face surgery with less anxiety and inner tension, a factor favorable for recovery.

This illustration has perhaps raised no real questions because it seems fairly obvious that the help of the caseworker was both appropriate and significant. Our satisfaction may be due to the fact that Miss B. herself was able to identify this related problem and seek help with it. Fortunately, the caseworker was responsive to this need and flexible in relating her help to it rather than to the immediate problem of hospitalization for which Miss B. was actually unprepared emotionally. Many individuals do need help in mobilizing their inner and outer resources in order to accommodate themselves to the real threat to security which surgery may bring. Often more help is needed than that directed to the reality problems related to the decision to enter the hospital.

Upon these problems may be projected the individual's anxiety about what is going to happen to him as a person, concern about whether his wholeness is going to be lost, or the feeling that the condition necessitating surgery is the result of his badness for which he is being punished. We must perceive the real sources of the individual's ambivalence, and it is essential that we direct our help to his underlying problems to the degree that we are able as social caseworkers. We can extend this aid and still see our function as essentially that of enabling the individual to use what the surgeon has to offer. Actually, lack of ease on the part of the patient may seriously interfere with the individual's capacity to deal with the emotional impact of surgery and thus obstruct both the patient and the surgeon in achievement of their respective purposes.

Mr. D. had his own unique way of identifying the value to him of active measures to support his efforts to remain whole. Following an operation for the removal of a kidney stone, Mr. D. was given glucose intravenously. During this process, he commented to the caseworker that he guessed "they are putting something in to take the place of what was taken out." Thus, Mr. D. helped the caseworker to perceive quite clearly that this medical procedure had significance for him in his struggle to maintain wholeness. His inner view of this outer reality was quite informative about the help he needed.

It is evident that the lack of ease reflected in a disease syndrome is

the result of a multiplicity of factors coming from within and without and it is equally evident that professional services to the individual must incorporate multiple types of help, all directed toward supplying what he requires. These services are different in their general emphasis and purpose, but their importance should not be evaluated in terms of degree of significance, since this would seem to be a doubtful basis. As social caseworkers, we must avoid the error of attributing greater significance to one way of helping than to another. Sometimes we feel that our services are less important than what the physician has to offer. They are different, not more or less significant. The very difference inherent in the specific skills of the various disciplines enhances the individual's opportunity to receive the multiple types of help he requires. Frequently, we attach minor significance to services which are primarily intended to effect change in the environment. The human organism's opportunity to maintain equilibrium may be either enhanced or seriously limited by the influence of factors within the environment. Skillful manipulation of the environment for the purpose of providing an optimal opportunity for the individual to recover ease is indeed a significant contribution to his well-being.

Let us look for a moment at the request to help an individual secure employment which is satisfying to him as well as socially significant. This is a particularly important assignment when it is concerned with an individual who is struggling to regain health or functioning equilibrium. His own participation in the process of finding and making use of a work opportunity is, of course, a basic essential. Frequently, his illness imposes certain limitations which must be given prior consideration. Too often these limitations are used negatively rather than positively, and we sometimes exhibit very little imagination or creativity in our guidance of the client. This undoubtedly stems from our own lack of knowledge about the basic problem in adjustment with which the individual is dealing. Again, we have responsibility for understanding this problem in order that our services in connection with employment may bring the greatest helpfulness to the client.

Mr. S. was recovering from the effects of a coronary occlusion. His physician had indicated that it would be possible for him to work if the job were carefully selected. He stressed the fact that there must be no strenuous physical activity and suggested the desirability of a

"sedentary" job. Later, Mr. S. was discussing this matter with the medical social worker. He said that he had decided that he would get a job as a taxi-driver. The worker expressed interest in his selection and wondered how he had arrived at this choice. He replied with a great deal of feeling: "When I drive a taxi, I am my own boss. It gets me down to have to take orders all day from somebody and I just figure that I'll be better off driving a taxi than anything else." As he talked, the medical social worker was mentally questioning whether the patient's choice would meet the requirements laid down by the physician. Fortunately, however, he did not raise these questions with the patient but, instead, attempted to understand the man's viewpoint more fully. His answer was highly informative to the caseworker because of the latter's knowledge of the conflict with authority which is a part of the adjustment problem of patients in whom the particular syndrome of coronary thrombosis develops. He indicated to the patient that although taxi-driving could hardly be considered a sedentary job, he felt that his physician would want to take into consideration the patient's own viewpoint since this would be an important determining factor. Subsequent conferences with the physician led to the decision that inasmuch as it was important for the patient to be as free from tension as possible, his own selection of a job in which he would not be in constant conflict with authority seemed to have merit. It should be noted that to this situation the caseworker brought more than his skill in gaining the participation of the patient; he also brought capacity to respond sensitively to the real meaning of what the patient was contributing. This capacity stemmed from his basic knowledge about the patient's underlying problem of adjustment. It helped him to avoid the error of a too rigid interpretation of the doctor's recommendation which might have resulted in failure to utilize this important lead contributed by the patient.

This single illustration demonstrates that services whose chief point of interest is the environment do require both understanding and skill and should not be relegated to a minor position among our various ways of bringing help.

The professional fields of medicine and social work seem destined to be drawn closer together as we share, to an increasing degree, the responsibility for helping individuals who are ill to utilize more effectively their own adaptive resources and for helping to create the

optimal environmental opportunity for the recovery and maintenance of ease. The separate and different professional services made available by the disciplines of medicine and social work are achieving real relatedness within a vastly broadened framework of understanding about human capacities and human needs.

FIELD SUPERVISION—UNILATERAL OR INTEGRATED?

By Sara H. James

I SHALL LIMIT MY DISCUSSION to those responsibilities or functions of the state agency which relate specifically to individuals in their own homes (or temporarily out of their homes). These include programs of social service and assistance to families and children and have a base specifically in our belief in the preservation and maintenance of family life. Although there may be other functions very properly carried out by a state agency, family and children's services, which are basic to a sound public welfare program, are functions of most state agencies and probably provide a sufficient problem of integration. Furthermore, there is a common base of knowledge and skill in providing these services.

The state agency is accountable under state law to the legislature and to the people of the state for effective administration of the programs assigned to it by law. This agency responsibility involves broad program planning, including financial planning as well as leadership in the field of welfare, but the specific area that I am concerned with is responsibility for program planning, policy development and standard setting, administrative planning, and for either the administration or the supervision of local units.

Since the programs outlined in law reach the beneficiaries at the local level, the state agency must have a means of knowing the effectiveness of its policies and standards and of the operation in each local unit. I believe that the purpose of each program must be understood clearly both by state and local personnel and that such understanding would be greatly increased by written statements of purpose which would be the basis upon which policy is developed.

A second area of responsibility is the development of policy and standards. What services does the state provide? To what people and under what conditions? We are aware of the necessity to answer these questions in clear enough terms so that people who need the agency's service can have it under the same terms throughout the state. This

is not a task to be accepted lightly, for the development of sound policies and standards requires thoughtful participation, not only by those who are assigned the responsibility of writing policy, but also by those who can test the applicability of the policy against current experience. If the local worker is to carry out his responsibility to provide service, the state agency must define the extent and the limits of the program and the methods by which it will be carried out.

Another responsibility is that of administrative planning. What is necessary in the local office in order that the service of the agency can be made available? First of all we must have personnel in sufficient number and quality to carry out the purpose of the program. The state agency must have standards for the quantity and quality of staff. The local office must have a plan of organization of work and of workers. There must be reports and controls as to assignments, production, and quality of work. The method of financing the agency needs to be known and understood locally; in some states, financing is part of the local responsibility.

Whether or not the state agency is responsible for administration or supervision of the local unit it must have some means of evaluating the state-wide service. Regular contacts through field service provide one method of evaluation, but many states found that insufficient and have now developed a supplemental objective review which is either part of, or supplemental to, the regular field service.

In order, then, for the state agency to carry out its responsibility for the administration of the program through local operation the state and the local agency must be coördinated in unity of purpose, in understanding of the purpose and scope of the program, in the interpretation and use of written policy and standards, and in the necessary administrative planning.

The director of the state agency is responsible for the administration of the services provided by the state. He is therefore directly concerned with local administration, for the program stands or falls on that operation. The field service which provides the channel between state and local operation must be close to the director. Field service must really represent the state; it must also have the authority that goes with that responsibility. The function of field service includes responsibility both for administrative supervision and for content of the program.

In state public welfare departments we have a type of responsibility

for field service that would be different if the service were to a confederation of counties or to member agencies each with local autonomy. Even though we have in some states local agencies administering local programs, the state field service is provided for those programs for which the state agency has responsibility through state law and which are, therefore, operative throughout the state. This fact places on the state agency a responsibility to see, not only that its services are available throughout the state, but also that the service is comparable in all communities and that standards compatible with health and decency are maintained.

The local agency, on the other hand, must provide an administrative framework so that the services of the agency can be available to those for whom the program was designed. In small local agencies this administrative framework may be simple, but it must include sufficient controls to provide for accountability. The kind of services needed will, however, depend on the purpose and scope of the program and will require throughout the state approximately the same degree of knowledge and skill on the part of personnel.

The state agency, then, finds it necessary to provide local agencies with understanding of policies and standards, not only through the written word, but through oral interpretation. We should probably remind ourselves that understanding comes through participation and that too frequently we pass out the finished product of policy without giving other members of the staff, such as local staffs, an opportunity to work along to the solution of some of our policy problems. Their daily use of policy gives local workers a keen eye to its validity.

I have used the term "field service" rather than "field supervision," for to me it is more descriptive of the state-local relationships. Field supervision does not include day-by-day supervision of the local visitor or caseworker. That responsibility rests with the local case supervisor or county director. The state agency does, however, have a responsibility to provide services to individuals throughout the state. Our local administrative setup presents many handicaps to any equitable provision of services and availability of resources throughout the state. If we look at local administration we can see some of the problems a state agency faces in trying to provide field service to local units. The figures which I shall cite were obtained as a by-product of a special study on salaries of local public assistance workers

conducted by the Bureau of Public Assistance early in 1946. The study was made on a voluntary basis, and data were obtained for forty-nine state agencies in forty-seven states.[1]

Out of 3,300 local offices, figures are available on 3,000. In 2,400, or 80 percent, the local agency is administering the three categorical programs, and in a little less than half of this group the local agency also administers general assistance. While we do not have figures on the number of these local agencies which are responsible for child welfare services, we do know that only a limited number of local units have child welfare workers.

Eighty-two percent of the local units serve a county, while the rest serve a city, town, or district.

The size of local staff varies greatly throughout the country: More than 25 percent of all local offices have only one or two workers, usually a director and one clerical worker. More than 50 percent of all local offices employ less than five persons, including clerical help. Eighty percent of all local offices have less than ten persons, including clerical help. Only 2 percent of the local offices have fifty or more employees. While 20 percent of the local offices employ more than ten persons, they employ 75 percent of the social work personnel of the nation.

One other finding of special interest is that concerning supervision: only one out of six local offices have a position classification of supervisor, and five states—California, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington—employ 60 percent of these supervisors.

What are the problems a state faces in trying to provide field service to these local units of varying size? One bright spot is the number of county units in comparison with smaller local units. Since, however, even many of these county units are so small that only one person is available to provide all the services, perhaps the question of the effective size of a local unit should be explored further. Certainly, the one- or two-person agency has difficulty in providing a service comparable to that of a larger unit.

One other point that these figures show forcefully is that with only one sixth of all offices having a local supervisor, in 82⅔ percent of all local units the local director is also the supervisor, and in 25 percent of all units he is also the visitor or caseworker. It is my impression

[1] *Personnel in Local Offices of State Public Assistance Agencies,* Part II: "Size and Composition of Local Office Staff," Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Public Assistance Report No. 12.

that generally we have not faced that fact and have not set up qualifications for this group of local directors so that they would be adequately prepared to carry their varying responsibilities. In some states qualifications for this class of position are lower than those for visitor. Since the figures show that 75 percent of the staff in the nation are in 20 percent of the local units, which have more than ten staff members, that means that 80 percent of the local offices are manned by 25 percent of the nation's staff.

I think that we can all agree on the advantages of having family and children's programs administered by one agency at the local level. Integration can provide for better service, for the development of one program is not made at the expense of another and the service needed by the applicant can be made available through the one agency even though by different workers. Better understanding of people and better use of resources can be developed through interchange of ideas of a staff skilled both in the family and the children's field. My impression is that even in agencies where we have this type of administration, we do not always have an integration of programs with a staff that understands the value or the responsibilities of the various programs and uses them fully for the benefit of the client.

My experience in a local agency convinced me that one of the best methods of developing understanding of the various services was through case conferences. No referral for child placement or protective service was made without a careful discussion by the family and children's workers and supervisors to try to evaluate the needs of the child and to determine whether with additional help the child could be kept in his own home. Many times the problem could be solved by provision for more adequate financial assistance. Many homes were preserved and strengthened by this careful review and the full use of staff knowledge and skill.

The same procedure was carried out when homes were reestablished after a long placement of the children. Through this plan both family and children's workers became much less critical of each other because they began to see the strengths and limitations of various services and the complementary nature of their respective fields. Here again I believe that in order to have effective integration we must have local directors who are qualified in both fields of family and child welfare and who can offer leadership in the development and use of the programs. I know that this sounds theoretical but I

believe we must know our needs in order to work toward filling them.

An integrated local program leads naturally to the need for an integrated field service. Since the field service is the arm of the state agency and represents the state in its responsibility for the provision of services locally, one person, known as a field representative or field supervisor, should represent the state agency in its relationship to the local unit. He must be able to give leadership in all aspects of the program, in the promotion and development of local services and resources, and in the general supervision of the state-wide programs administered by the local units. These responsibilities call for a person qualified by experience to help the local units in their administrative problems, in board and community activities, and qualified through education and professional experience to help improve services to individuals. The field representative will, in turn, bring to the state agency special problems of the local units, unmet needs of individuals, effect of policies, as well as an evaluation of the quality of the local service. His service to the counties will need to be complemented by the use of consultants in special technical areas, such as child welfare, medical care, standards of assistance, and staff development.

If consultant service is effective, it is in fact a complementary, not a parallel, service. None of the special areas of content can be effective except in a sound organization and developed as part of the total program. For instance, child welfare consultants could be effectively used as consultants to the county directors in all counties to strengthen the total staffs' understanding of children's needs and behavior and thus improve the service to all families.

About half of the states now have an integrated field service for four or five programs, namely, the categorical programs, general assistance, and child welfare services with a little more than half of this group having an integrated field service for the five programs. All of this seems to indicate progress in integration and acceptance of the principle. I believe, however, that there are still many limitations in the present plan of integration. In the first place, the responsibilities of the field representative call for a person of great skill and ability. If we look back at the responsibilities which the state agency has for a state-wide program, we see that the field representative is responsible for local understanding of the purpose and scope of the program, for interpretation of policies and standards of the

state agency, for help to the local office in all aspects of administrative planning, for help in board and community relationships, for assistance in staff development, for evaluation of local operation, for interpretation of local needs to the state agency, and for knowledge and skill in the casework field as applied both to family and children's work. The field representative should be able to help the county director achieve some balance in his responsibilities for many programs.

If the state agency can provide technical consultation to assist the field representative, and the representative is able to use such service, he can be helped to fulfill these responsibilities. We cannot, however, expect integration to be effective unless we are willing to secure personnel who can do the job.

A second problem centers on the different needs of variously sized administrative units. The state agency must provide field service commensurate with the local agency problems. Almost every state has one large city which carries a large percentage of the state's case load. The administrator of such a local agency needs skilled administrative help from the field representative with the addition of consultation in special technical areas. In too many instances the field service to such large units has not provided such help. Probably one of our weakest points is the lack of unity of purpose between the state agency and its large local units. We can see the reason for this, for the large local unit is engrossed with its own particular local problems and not with a state-wide development of services, while, on the other hand, the local unit often sees the state agency developing plans and policies which do not take into consideration the peculiar operating problems of the large center.

The small counties are at the other extreme in size. While we recognize the principle that the field representative works with the county director and helps to strengthen his administration, we see that in many of these counties the director, acting as visitor, must look to the field representative for the leadership and stimulation that he would expect from a case supervisor.

I have discussed different-sized administrative units, not only because of the knowledge of content of various programs needed by the field representative in an integrated program, but also because the state agency in order to provide the same quality of service to all local units must look carefully at the needed service and provide

field staff with different strengths for large and small counties. When one field representative carries responsibility for several programs the leadership given to the counties is entirely dependent upon his ability to provide the kind of service the county needs. In other words, the state agency has put all its strength of leadership to the counties into one person.

One of the greatest strengths of integrated field service is found in state-local relations, for the local director knows who is authorized to speak for the state agency. One former county director of a large county states that a busy county director does not have time to spend with various representatives of the state agency, each of whom is urging development of his own program; furthermore, this county director felt that in such diversified field service he did not get the help he needed in discussion of his total responsibilities for several programs and in administrative planning needed to carry out these responsibilities.

The director of a large local unit has special problems of development of understanding and interpretation of the programs, of relationships to the local board, of budgeting and financing, and of coordination with other local agencies, besides the many administrative problems of operating a large unit so that all programs are kept in balance. The leadership and understanding of the state agency through the field representative can help him in carrying his total job. With this kind of service, the specialized services of consultants can be used to improve the content of the program.

As to unilateral field supervision, which I judge to mean field supervision for each program, I see only one value, namely, that the needs of one group of people can be specifically studied and resources for meeting such needs developed. The result may be an imbalance of service to groups that make a particular appeal. A case may be made, perhaps, for simpler policies and procedures when they relate to only one program. The limitations and costliness of separate field services seem too great to consider that as a goal even though some agencies see it as an expedient to meet their situation.

While what I have said so far might indicate a lack of belief in the present strengths of field service, I would give great credit to the field representatives who have carried during these years a heavy burden of leadership. Not a great deal of help is available to them either

through the current literature of the field or through courses in schools of social work. The knowledge and skills of social casework have to be adapted by them to a different set of circumstances than for the caseworker, supervisor, or administrator. In spite of this fact, many of them have given yeoman service in an almost uncharted area.

HOW ADEQUATE SHOULD PUBLIC ASSISTANCE BE?

By Val M. Keating

ONE IS IMPELLED by the boldness and breadth of this question to answer in equally bold and broad terms that public assistance should be adequate to assure for all human beings otherwise unable to obtain it, economic security, in order that all of us may live wholesomely and well, and thus be enabled to participate constructively as effective units of democracy. There should be unanimity in this reply, since healthy, secure, and free people are essential to the well-being of the nation, whether from the point of view of the economist, the political scientist, the businessman, the philosopher, or the social worker. This answer supports the aims of our free competitive economy and of the democratic form of government, and is in harmony with the concept of the infinite value and dignity of the human individual. The cost can be met in dollars and goods and services, whereas the cost of not doing so, with the resultant physical and moral depletion of our most valuable resource—human beings—is an extravagance which democracy cannot afford if it is to remain, or rather become, impregnable.

This answer is dogmatic and by design greatly oversimplified. As we look at it, many complex questions immediately arise, and most of them are questions of broad public policy which must be answered in the halls of the Congress and in the chambers of the state legislatures, in the county courthouses and in the city halls. But decisions made in these legislative assemblies are usually the composite of opinions formed and decisions reached in commercial chambers, in union halls, in the universities, in board rooms of banks, on park benches, in Wall Street and on Main Street, and, possibly, to some extent in conferences of social workers.

Some of these questions relate to how adequate a living should be guaranteed as the minimum of well-being for all people. In terms of goods and services are we willing to underwrite less than food, clothing, shelter (including fuel, water, light, and cleaning supplies), personal care, and medical care? Would we dare to go so far as to consider

as an essential a very modest sum for recreation, reading, and even a little bit for church contributions? Which of these basic items would anyone, even the guardian of the exchequer, classify as nonessential if he believes, as we profess to believe, that the assurance of the individual's welfare and dignity is the purpose of our form of government? If we grant that these are essentials for all, how do we translate their cost into dollars, since ours is a money economy?

The Social Security Administration recently developed a budget, based on the methods and procedures used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in compiling the City Worker's Family Budget, for an elderly couple living by themselves in an urban area. The budget provides for a modest but adequate level of living and includes the goods and services necessary for a healthful, self-respecting mode of living, allowing for normal participation in community activities. It is based on such items as shelter consisting of two or three rooms, reliance on low-cost foods, and a new overcoat for the man once in eight years—surely not living at the luxury level! Yet for an elderly couple to live in this fashion in June, 1947, cost in thirty-four cities from a high of $147.25 per month in Washington, D.C. (the city in which the cost of living was the highest of any of the thirty-four in which price data was collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics), to a low of $113.75 per month in Houston, Texas. Old age assistance average payments in those two cities at that time were $80.14 and $60.76 respectively, per month, provided both members of the family were eligible for assistance. If the wife happened to be sixty-three instead of sixty-five, the maximum payment would have been $45 per month in Houston. (The maximum payments in Houston have not increased during the interim, whereas it is an accepted fact that there has been an increase in consumer prices in the past ten months.)

In these same cities the estimated cost of living for a family consisting of parents and two children, as measured by the City Worker's Family Budget, was $288.17 per month in Washington, D.C., in June, 1947, and $251.67 per month in Houston. In Washington less than one third of the aid to dependent children families that included at least four persons received enough, according to this standard, to purchase food alone. In Houston the maximum such a family could have received is $39.00, which is slightly more than one half of the amount needed for food alone. In a typical Midwestern city in January, 1948, the cost of living for a father, mother, and two children, as measured

by the City Worker's Family Budget, was $276.00 per month. The cost of food for such a family was $90.00. The maximum Federal contribution to a payment of aid to dependent children for such a family, including a mother and incapacitated father and two children, is $22.50, which is less than one fourth of the cost of its food. In the state in which this Midwestern city is located, the average monthly payment in aid to dependent children families is somewhat under $50.00, including state and Federal funds, still only slightly more than one half of the amount needed for food alone. The picture throughout the country varies between states and localities from those which more nearly approximate adequacy to those grim situations in which there is not provided even half of the cost of either adequate food or shelter and allowing for the decencies of privacy and the "privilege" of sanitation. Where the latter standard prevails, the program only partially attains its objective of preventing family disintegration.

During the base month under consideration, June, 1947, average payments to individuals in the old age assistance program varied from a low of $15.08 in one state to a high of $65.11 in another, with the national average $36.04 and with only sixteen states averaging $40.00 or more. Although this is not encouraging when related to the Bureau of Labor Statistics study, it is more so than the situation in aid to dependent children, in which the range of payments per family, including one parent—or in some instances, both parents—and approximately two and one-half children per family, was from a low of $26.43 to a high of $104.63, with a national average of $61.68. Even in the two states in which average payments were slightly over $100, the discrepancy between these payments and the Bureau of Labor Statistics budget is great. In one of these states the average payment would not quite provide the total amount needed for food and one half of the amount for shelter and nothing for clothing, medical care, transportation, or other goods and services, for recipients living in the city included in the Bureau of Labor Statistics study. In the other state, the average payment was substantially the same as the cost of food and one half of the cost of shelter in one city and slightly more than the cost in another. The national average payment would not cover the cost of food alone in any of the cities studied. This should nullify any arguments or wishful thinking to the effect that assistance even approximates the amount people need to live healthfully. It should prove how far we must advance if we are to give practical

application to that proposed Article 26 of the International Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, which speaks unequivocally for the right of everyone to social security. It declares that:

> The State has a duty to maintain or ensure the maintenance of comprehensive measures for the security of the individual against the consequences of unemployment, disability, old-age and all other loss of livelihood for reasons beyond his control. Motherhood shall be granted special care and assistance. Children are similarly entitled to special care and assistance.

I assume that the "special care and assistance" referred to presuppose more than the inadequate food which the average aid to dependent children payment now provides. I believe it envisions life at a healthful, yes, even a happy, level.

It is, of course, true that the assistance payment in many instances need not equal the total amount required for living, because some families have other income or resources. It would not be expected, therefore, that average payments would approach total requirements. Studies of incomes of recipients indicate that cash resources are, on the average, very small and that relatively few recipients have resources in kind averaging more than a few dollars per month in value. Some own their homes, receive free quarters with relatives, or can utilize free medical facilities. At present, others are held not to need all the items in the budget because community practice or their own habits do not "justify" specified expenditures: they have old clothes to make over, can pick up their wood, use well water, have gardens, do not need transportation, do not have electricity, cannot read, do not go to church. But since we are relating the national average payments solely to food, and that only of the cheaper variety and prepared at home, it does not seem unsound to note the relationship between the cost of food and average assistance payments, since most people have to purchase whatever food they eat. Many people do have to pay rent, some have toilets and electricity, some have no garden space except the tomato plant in the tin can on the fire escape, and some have been unable to buy new clothes or material for so long that they have nothing to remake or to cut down for the younger members of the family.

Surely then, we must all agree that at present, except possibly in a few places and for a comparatively small percentage of families, public assistance is not sufficient for a decent, much less an adequate, living. The few examples of high payments made to persons who either

do not need assistance or who do not require it at the particular level or for the particular items for which it is provided are heralded from the housetops and inspire completely unwarranted generalizations of inefficient administration, extravagant expenditures, and lush relief throughout the country. These accusations impede needed expansions of the assistance programs even where they are at a totally inadequate level. If only the thousands of backs with no coats were as press-worthy as the one with the shabby mink, and if only the lean-to's, the trailer camps, and the crowded unsanitary corrals would inspire the public resentment which an occasional hotel-sheltered person receives, the difference between public assistance payments and the cost of the goods and services necessary for life at an acceptable American standard would not long remain so great.

On the subject of the level of public aid payments the National Resources Planning Board has reported so temperately yet straightforwardly that I have excerpted a statement for inclusion here:

> Determination of the plane of living which should be assured is perhaps the most difficult practical question in the entire realm of public-aid policy. We believe that the long-run objective should be to provide a standard of living that is not too widely at variance from what we like to think of as the "American Standard." Apart from important and humanitarian considerations, we believe further that the present international situation only increases the desirability of making it possible for all Americans to enjoy a way of life which they will value sufficiently to be prepared to defend.

There have been indications of what the Congress considers as necessary for maintenance, although it has not as yet extended these standards to the public assistance programs. For example, in 1943 it determined that a serviceman's wife and two children would receive an allowance of $100 per month with $20 for each additional child. (The current Federal matching maximum in aid to dependent children in a two-child family is $39, with $15 for each additional child. The divergence is further emphasized by the increase in living costs since 1943.) Another indication is that a single veteran receives as a subsistence allowance under the G.I. Bill of Rights, while pursuing a full-time course of education or training, $75. If he has one dependent he receives $105, and if more than one, $120.

Among related questions is the practical one as to whether we can afford as adequate a public assistance program as some believe we should have. Not being an economist, I cannot answer with any degree

of authority. However, since total income payments increased from approximately fifty-three billion dollars in 1934 to two hundred billion dollars in 1947, it seems logical that we could attain a reasonable standard of living for all if we believe it should be supported. The past ten years have proven that we have the resources to produce the necessary income if that is what the citizenry wants. In the Budget Message of the President of the United States for this fiscal year $39,700,000,000 was recommended for Federal expenditures. Of this amount, in the words of President Harry S. Truman, "79 percent directly reflects the cost of war, the effects of war, and our efforts to prevent a future war." Although there are those who say that some portion of this amount is unnecessary expense, none say seriously that it cannot be afforded if it is required. In the proposed budget "only 21 percent of our expenditures finance the Government's programs in the broad areas of: Social Welfare—Housing—Education—Research—Agriculture—Natural Resources—Transportation—Finance—Commerce—Industry—Labor—General Administration." As the costs of war, the effects of war, and our need to prevent a future war recede, as we pray they may do, some shift may be possible between items in the national budget, with emphasis on peace, health, education, and security instead of on war.

A question is also asked as to whether we can afford not to assure the opportunity of a decent living for all. One basis for reply, which is often quoted but whose significance is not fully comprehended, is the report [1] of the causes of rejection and the incidence of defects among eighteen- and nineteen-year-old selective service registrants which may be summarized as follows: The ten leading causes of rejection among white eighteen- and nineteen-year-old selective service registrants were, in decreasing order of occurrence, eye defects, mental disease, musculoskeletal defects, cardiovascular defects, ear defects, hernia, neurological defects, educational deficiency, underweight, and mental deficiency. For Negroes of the same age group the ten leading causes of rejection were educational deficiency, syphilis, cardiovascular defects, mental disease, musculoskeletal defects, hernia, eye defects, neurological defects, mental deficiency, and tuberculosis. Half of the rejections of Negro youths resulted from educational deficiency or from syphilis. These data are based on local board and induction

[1] Col. Leonard G. Rowntree, Kenneth H. McGill, Thomas I. Edwards, "Causes of Rejection and the Incidence of Defects among 18 and 19 Year Old Selective Service Registrants," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CXXIII, No. 4 (September 25, 1943), 181–85.

station examinations made during December, 1942, and January and February, 1943.

While the rejection rate of boys who should be at the height of their physical capacity is 25.4 per hundred examined (white, 23.8; Negro, 45.5), and while the incidence is highest among farmers and emergency and unemployed workers, and since many of the causes of rejection are preventable by proper nutrition, extension of educational opportunities, and medical attention, we cannot afford not to assure the opportunity of a decent living for all. The cost of our negligence is clearly seen. If one ever needed proof of the fact that investment in good living pays dividends, and that the cost in terms of dependency and ill health for failure to provide it is greater than the original investment would have been, he need look no further.

Others who agree that we cannot afford the results of failure to assure good living for all base their conviction on the broad economic theory that an assured public aid program would strengthen the resistance of the economic system against depressions, that purchasing power must be commonly shared if our system is to thrive.

Karl de Schweinitz several years ago put the question of adequacy succinctly when, in describing the difficulties of determining public assistance policies, he said that there is agreement that people in the United States should not starve, but not on how well nourished they should be; that they should be sheltered, but not on how well. Our experience should be brought to bear on the unanswered positives in his question and, having arrived at convictions we should exert the influence of citizenship and profession to bring about answers consistent with democratic needs and objectives.

A final, basic question is whether public assistance is the proper vehicle by which to correct the deficiencies of law, of economic and social practice, and of human justice. This question is raised, not only by those who do not seem to care about the results of these deficiencies, and in fact may benefit from them, but also by those who deplore the deficiencies, work to correct them, and meanwhile try to help counteract the results. Many socially conscientious persons question, not only the practicability, but the constructiveness of using public assistance to subsidize low wages. Although the undesirable results of doing so generally are recognized, and although public assistance should not be considered a good substitute for a living wage, it seems obvious that social policy cannot accept prevailing wages as the upper

limit on public assistance payments. Our nation has declared itself in favor of fair wage standards in interstate industry. Public opinion will probably support assistance payments in excess of exceedingly low wage rates if those payments do not approximate the national minimum wage standard. Several European countries and Canada have made an approach to the discrepancy between low wages and heavy family responsibilities in the form of the family allowance, a device which eliminates, or at least lessens, the need for public assistance in families in which there is a wage earner. Many agree that in a democracy each member should be protected from insecurity, but they believe that most of life's insecurities can be eliminated or reduced by a combination of such devices as the guaranteed annual wage system, universal minimum wage legislation, controls on inflation, improvement of medical facilities, enforcement of child labor and school attendance laws, and by the expansion and extension of the social insurances. To the purpose of each of these programs all social workers must be dedicated, not only intellectually, but actively, in so far as their knowledge, skill, and area of influence extend. Pending the achievement and effectiveness of these devices it does not seem to be inconsistent with their attainment, nor with the purpose of public aid programs for public assistance, temporarily to fill adequately some of the gaps left by deficient laws.

In the last seventy-five years, and especially in the past fifteen, great progress has been made toward the assumption of responsibility by government for the security of its constituents; the concept of assistance as a right rather than as a gratuity has developed roots; the right of a person receiving assistance to be secure against violation of his personal integrity, and to decide how he will live and on what he will spend his money, has become generally fixed; the confidential nature of the relationship between the individual and the agency is universally respected; and the causes of dependency and insecurity are more generally understood to be related to the weaknesses inherent in our type of economy rather than to the deficiencies of our individual character or intelligence. Hopefully, the pace toward complete social justice and economic security may be accelerated in order that in the years not too far ahead there may be added to our advances those as yet untried and the improvement of the present ones so that each human being will be strongly fortified against need, insecurity, and personal indignity.

THE CITY WORKER'S FAMILY BUDGET

By Dorothy S. Brady

"THE CITY WORKER'S FAMILY BUDGET" compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, was constructed to determine how much it costs a worker's family to live in the large cities of the United States. Although the question "How much does it cost to live?" implies that there is a definite scale of living that can be described and priced, a determinate answer can be formulated only after the terms of reference are precisely limited. The composition of the family must be specified, the manner of living made explicit, and the standard of welfare carefully defined before it is possible to list the goods and services in an annual budget and then to ascertain how much it costs.

The choice of the type of family must be arbitrary to a considerable extent. When the age as well as the number of family members is taken into consideration, it becomes impossible to select any particular type of family as typical in the sense of numerical predominance at a given time. The Bureau of Labor Statistics selected the four-person family of husband, wife, and two children because it was near the center of the range of family groups arrayed by number of persons or by age. (In 1940, 45 percent of the families in cities had four persons or more. Census figures indicate that about half of all families include four persons at some time during the life cycle.) The husband and the wife are thirty-five and forty-five years of age; the two children are "half-grown."

The budget for this family must be recognized as the starting point for a series of budgets that state the requirements of the different family types. One budget cannot be taken as representative of budgets for families at every stage of the cycle. Even in the sense of an average for the relative cost of providing the same standard of welfare to families ranging from the newly married couple to the elderly couple, the requirements for a particular family type would probably not correspond closely with the average cost for all families at a given point.

Types of families today are not so varied as they were in the past

when households managed to absorb many persons in addition to the immediate family: the relatives who were classified by the statisticians as "other dependents"—the grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, aunts, and cousins. With few exceptions, every family today wants a home of its own, a separate house or apartment, and will make every effort to obtain it. Whatever historical factors in urban living and migration account for it, this manner of living is accepted as so essential in the American standard of living that alternatives are regarded as unreasonable. "Doubling-up," even with relatives, is regarded as a forced reduction in the living standard which can be imposed only under the compulsion of housing shortages or insufficient incomes. The separate home for the small family group has been accepted as basic in every budget constructed in the United States.

The small and separate household determines many essential elements in the pattern of living. Since the management of the household as well as the care of the children falls upon her, the wife, by preference, does not undertake full-time employment outside the home, unless she is compelled to supplement the family income. Studies of family earnings have shown that working mothers are concentrated in the lowest income brackets, as measured by the husbands' earnings. The 1940 census data, for example, showed that only 3 percent of the married women with children were in the labor force when the husband earned $2,000 or more; but when the husband's earnings were less than $1,000, between 12 and 17 percent of the wives were employed or seeking work.

Transportation is another aspect of family living that is integrated with the housing. The home cannot be described independently of its location in relation to neighborhood facilities and its accessibility in terms of transportation. There is convincing though indirect evidence that families with children, given the means, seek reasonably safe neighborhoods near parks and playgrounds or locations in the suburbs where yards and vacant lots provide play space. The suburban family has become dependent on the automobile that provides transportation to work, to school, to church, and to social functions.

This pattern of living is universal, and it has been continuously and effectively romanticized, especially in wartime advertisements. It is a picture of the standard of consumption in American cities; but without further limitation on the conditions of the problem, it can-

not be used to answer the question, "How much does it cost to live?" The elements in the consumption standard must be described in specific, priceable form.

In general, it may be said that the City Worker's Family Budget attempts to describe for the urban community the simplest of the group standards of consumption in the simplest descriptive terms. In the determination of standards to be used in the formulation of the budget, the Bureau of Labor Statistics had the assistance of an advisory committee of experts in the fields of consumption economics, standards of living, and labor economics. The chairman was Professor Hazel Kyrk, of the University of Chicago. The committee defined the level of living to be represented by the budget as "the necessary minimum with respect to the items included and their quantities as determined by prevailing standards of what is needed for health, efficiency, nurture of children, social participation, and the maintenance of self-respect and the respect of others."

The committee elaborated this definition as follows:

> When it is said that the budget recommended is intended to cover the necessary minimum, "necessary" is to be given the common interpretation as including what will meet the conventional and social as well as biological needs. It represents what men commonly expect to enjoy, feel that they have lost status and are experiencing privation if they cannot enjoy, and what they insist upon having. Such a budget is not an absolute and unchanging thing. The prevailing judgment of the necessary will vary with the changing values of the community, with the advance of scientific knowledge of human needs, with the productive power of the community and therefore what people commonly enjoy and see others enjoy.

The committee recommended the use of two kinds of data to arrive at the budget quantities: first, those derived from laboratory experiments or similar scientific experiments; and secondly, those showing the spending patterns of urban families. Generally recognized scientific standards exist for two of the categories of family consumption, food and housing. The Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council has formulated dietary requirements in terms of the needs for calories and nutrients in a set of recommended allowances. These requirements must be translated into a food budget by reference to the actual choices made by city families. The Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association has formulated standards for healthful housing

which describe the characteristics of the dwelling unit and its environment in specific terms. For other categories in family consumption it was necessary to rely entirely on a study of family choices in the determination of the standard to be described by the budget.

The analysis of family spending used in the derivation of the budget can be described as a search for an indicator of the group rating of the various levels of living that are found in American cities at any given time. The consumption levels of each income bracket from the lowest to the highest provides an ordering of living patterns which consumers in general would agree corresponds to a scale of satisfaction—each level is more satisfactory than the preceding one. At lowest levels, deficiencies exist in one or more aspects of family consumption; at some point between the lowest and the highest levels there is a living pattern that meets the definitions of the standard to be described by the budget.

The chief indicator of group judgment used in locating the budget level on this scale was the relative rate of increase in the quantity of goods purchased as purchasing power is increased. As the economic barriers are progressively removed, family consumption expands in two ways: more goods and services are purchased; better quality and higher priced goods are purchased. In the progression up from the lowest income bracket, the emphasis is first on expansion of the quantity of goods and services. The relative rate of increase in the quantities purchased goes up faster and faster as families move out of the debtor classes.[1] Then, at a given point on the scale, the expansion of quantity begins to slow down, and the expansion of quality becomes more and more important. This level of consumption which marks the beginning of satisfaction with the quantities of goods and services consumed was taken as the budget level.

The budget derived in this way represents the average replacements and additions to inventories in the way that families actually purchase. No attempt was made to describe the inventories of furnishings, clothing, or other goods in the possession of families at this level, and the annual purchases described in the budget can be called replacements only in the most general sense.

The average purchases represent a composite of choices that in-

[1] Every study of family expenditures in relation to income has shown that the lowest income classes are unable to balance income and expenditure over a year. Those with no assets to liquidate end the year with an accumulation of debts, unpaid bills, and money borrowed from friends or loan agencies.

dividual families may make and reflect all the variations in the acquisition of goods that appear in family practices. The choice between the automobile and public transportation and its relation to housing has already been mentioned. In two cases, the alternative choices were so unevenly weighted that only the dominant practice appears in the budget. The budget includes a washing machine and the other requirements for doing laundry at home because this practice appeared to be preferred by the great majority of families at this level.[2] Domestic service, even on a part-time basis, is used by families at this level only when the wife is employed or when she is ill. The limitation of the budget to the family with the wife at home means that help in the home is provided only as needed during illness.

The acquisition of goods through inheritance or gift affects the quantities purchased by families at every level of living. Some articles of furniture, textiles, and bric-a-brac, and some pieces of equipment are handed down from one generation to the next. Friends and relatives exchange clothing outgrown by their children. Certain articles of clothing have become standard gifts on different holidays and occasions. The average purchases of such articles, accordingly, do not measure adequately either the existing inventory or the rate of acquisition.

The budget provides for variations in the quantities allowed from city to city as the climate and preferences among equivalent substitutes alter the basic requirements. In the case of fuel, it was possible to develop a simple relation between the BTU requirements and the duration and intensity of cold weather. The BTU requirement determined by the formula for a given city can then be easily translated by the quantities of the specific fuel customarily used in the locality. In the case of clothing, it has been possible to state the relation between climate and the total requirements for two groups of clothing, the heavy articles more frequently used in winter and the light articles more frequently used in the summer. In further development of its work on the budget, the Bureau intends to extend the study of the relation of climate to clothing requirements in more detail so that it will be possible to describe the differences, item by item, between the clothing budget in Minneapolis and the clothing budget in Los Angeles.

[2] It is interesting to note that at higher consumption levels and among families of other types, commercial laundry service appears to a much greater extent.

In food, the budget quantities provide for fairly wide differences in the diet patterns among cities. The meat group, for example, is specified only in three subgroups, the relatively high-cost, medium-cost, and low-cost cuts. In some cities the actual selection may give more weight to beef, in some to pork, and in a few to lamb or fish.

The variations in the budget requirements according to climate clearly affect the cost of the budget; in a city in a warm climate the budget costs will be lower than in a city in a cold climate, if prices of goods and services are about the same in both places. On the other hand, the variation with preferences, such as the choice between beef and pork, does not appear to affect the cost of the budget because the variation in the demand for different substitutes introduces corresponding changes in the relative prices from city to city.

In June, 1947, the cost of goods and services in the budget ranged from $2,734 to $3,111 among the thirty-four cities included in the survey. With average outlays for taxes, insurance, and occupational expenses, the total budget as estimated ranged from $3,004 to $3,458. In a median city, goods and services cost about $2,900, and the total cost as estimated amounted to $3,250. Of the $2,900 for goods and services, over 80 percent went to food, housing, clothing, and medical care; transportation, personal care, recreation, reading, education, gifts, and contributions accounted for less than 20 percent.

The food cost in the median city amounted to $1,057, that is, about twenty-three cents a meal plus a small amount for such things as ice cream and soft drinks. Housing cost about $700, or $49 a month for rent, heat, and utilities and $113 for furnishings and household operation. The cost of housing is a primary factor in determining the relative cost of the budget in different cities; it ranged from $563 in New Orleans to $868 in Washington, D.C.

Clothing costs in the different cities ranged from $400 to $475. In the median city, the husband's clothing required $140, the wife's $120, the boy's $88, and the girl's $77.

Transportation costs averaged $261 in the median city. In all but the three largest cities—New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia—the budget specifies an automobile for seven out of ten families. The cost of transportation for those owning cars was $327 and for those using public transportation exclusively, under $100. Typically, the automobiles owned by families at the budget level are more than eight years old and were used cars when purchased. The budget does

not allow for replacement at current high prices. The budget pattern on transportation will be examined in the near future in comparison with the data on family expenditures now currently being collected by the Bureau.

For more than half a century family budgets have been used as a gauge of the sufficiency of family incomes in attempts to locate and count the groups with substandard incomes and to outline appropriate programs for raising the level of living toward a satisfactory standard. Both the statistical problems involved in the comparison of incomes and budget standards and the planning and development of social policies aimed at elimination of unsatisfactory levels of living are complicated by the great variety of situations which must be recognized and analyzed. Families with incomes too low to support an adequate level of living will be found in every age group, in every type of family, in practically every occupational group. Some of the breadwinners in these families are in business on their own account; some are unskilled and skilled wage workers; and some are salaried workers.

ADJUSTMENT OF JEWISH DISPLACED PERSONS IN AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

By Callman Rawley

ADD UP ALL THE TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES of displaced persons and all the effects which should follow and you get a psychological ruin with no resemblance to any one person except in certain strains here and there. The reason? These experiences were by no means the same for everyone, and the effect could be as different as the individuals were different. In one group, for example, were two young Poles of the same age and social background. Both had lost their families and had worked in labor camps under similar conditions. Yet one was dependent, distrustful, and exploitative; the other was candid, self-assertive, and self-reliant. In addition, there are great national differences among displaced persons and great dissimilarities arising from the variation in the ages at which the uprooting occurred.

It is not easy to regard these displaced persons with fresh eyes, to see what they are now and how to help them use their present inner resources, and to remember always that a person with the indomitable will to survive a concentration camp and the extermination of his family is also able to survive the realities of American life. The high-tension, immobilizing forces in them are so dramatic that we forget that they are legitimate subjects for analysis only in relation to the total personality and the powerful will.

The road for the newcomer is bound to be hard. The force, the vigilance, the desentimentalized realism which he had to generate in order to survive are unacceptable here. Moreover, there was nothing in fascist society to which he could adjust willingly. In a democratic society, however, adjustment springs from willingness alone. Under fascism he had only a primitive relation to society, one of white to black. In a democracy there are all shades of societal relationship, which necessitate his changing his concept of society as well as learning new cultural patterns.

In the previous relationship he could not be sensitive to his own limitations; everything bad seemed to lie outside himself, justice was all on his side. In our society such an attitude cannot be maintained. Here his progress depends on his learning his own limitations, a process which, unfortunately, is obstructed by the anxieties he feels in his new setting.

During his period of adjustment the displaced person is apt to see us as projected stereotypes [1] and to have little ability to partialize experience. The caseworker, for example, is apt to represent to him all of American Jewry. The refugee is apt to be constantly on his guard, distrustful, and often cynical, easily dissatisfied and discouraged, unable to acknowledge either his weaknesses or his anxieties, with brilliant flashes of insight followed by incredible obtuseness and ignorance of which he is unaware. No man ever had a sharper nose for sham. This is impressive until one suddenly realizes that his nose for the genuine and the positive is far too short. Being a man without a country, he feels unprotected and rootless except for his Jewishness. He is apt, therefore, to feel a special claim on Jewish agencies and to expect services from them far beyond their specific, limited functions. His anxiety arising from the vacuum left by his experiences, plus the natural anxiety he feels on coming to a new country, makes him rush the caseworker off her feet in the initial contacts to get all the problems of adjustment settled right away, and makes him exaggerate his abilities and his preparation for American life.

In his initial contacts with Americans he needs and expects so much more than the somewhat casual, positive impulses on which our social relations depend, that when he does not get it, he rejects what little positive there is and accuses the other person of lack of interest, of condescension, of gloating over him, of relieving his own benevolent needs without cost to himself. Americans unwittingly make him feel his own difference, his immigrant status, their success and his inferiority, and therefore greatly increase his anxiety and envy to the point sometimes of almost paranoiac projection, so little does his reaction have to do with the actual intentions and attitude of the people he is with. He will not ask for specific help but he is angry when it is not offered. In these early social contacts he needs help so much that there is only one kind of friendship for him, the friendship

[1] See the brilliant analysis, "The Victim's Image of the Anti-Semite," by Bruno Bettelheim, *Commentary*, V, No. 2 (February, 1948), 173–79.

which sees his need and offers tangible aid. This is not the kind, however, which is available at the outset. American friendship tends to be casual and free of liabilities and encumbrances. Until the refugee, therefore, can enter social relations on such a basis, he is not ready for American friendships, and we should not expect him to be nor expose interested Americans to the rebuff with which their advances are sure to be met.

He is ready for a job long before he is ready for friendship. Often his first words are: "Are there jobs here for a man like me? How much can I make?" In a few weeks he is working, and although he may lose his first job, and the second, in general he holds on, and one wonders how he does it with so little English, so little knowledge of American business or industrial methods, and such meager resources for taking criticism and entering into positive relations with fellow workers and foremen. He holds on, often by only a narrow margin during those first few months, with no illusions as to the limitations of his job or much satisfaction in it either. In general, is willing to take any kind of work. He objects, as we do, however, to a job which does not pay enough to support a family. In that case, no matter how willing the agency is to supplement his earnings, he is apt to quit the job.

In the early contacts there are a vast number of things for the newcomer to do and to learn, and from his viewpoint, that is, the necessity of competing and catching up with Americans, seemingly not much time in which to do them. Hence, he needs a lot of time in the early contacts. It does not make him dependent. In addition, he needs worlds of information, practically all at once. The stupendous volume and variety of this are indicated in an article, "The Newcomers' Orientation to the American Community," [2] by Hertha Kraus. The only fault that I have to find with this article is that it implies that all this information can be taught, and that teaching it will orient the newcomer. Although work with the refugee necessarily has much more informational content than work with an American, the information is selected according to the psychological as well as the practical needs of the individual. This means that some of it is best given in group sessions, and the bulk left for the individual to find out for himself.

[2] Hertha Kraus, "The Newcomers' Orientation to the American Community," *Journal of Social Casework*, XXIX, No. 1 (January, 1948), 9–13.

Every service needs to be defined clearly to a client; to a refugee doubly so, since he is without anchor at the outset, so anxious and confused, in such acute disbalance, so lost without his former world of authority, much as he hated and fought it. The need, then, is for absolute clarity on the nature and the limits of the service, so that his experience with it can be clear and real, and hence conducive to adjustment. With this in mind, the worker in our agency sits down with each newcomer at the first interview, and goes over with him slowly, point by point, a statement in his native tongue on the principles of our service to refugees. This statement answers the following questions: Which local organization has the responsibility of helping the refugee? Where does the money come from? When is he eligible for financial help? When is he not? What kind of financial help does this agency give? How much does it give? How is the help given? What kind of vocational service is available? What kind of service for personal problems? What kind of housing? Is the help available different from the help available to Americans? Some of the answers include information about the community. For example, the statement says:

> There are no special jobs for refugees. Americans earn the same wages as refugees for the same type of work. Although the vocational counselor is a specialist in her line, she has no power to create jobs for you which are superior to those available on the labor market here for people with your vocational preparation or which have extraordinary opportunities for advancement. Advancement on a job comes slowly, and only as a result of your own effort.

The statement also describes the qualifications of the caseworker. In the course of the joint reading, the refugee asks questions. At the end he knows where he stands and what to expect. In this one area he can now feel secure. He is, therefore, free to apply his energies to other problems.

In the initial contacts with a social agency and, in a sense, in all other nonfamilial contacts, the refugee suffers from a conflict peculiar to his situation. On the one hand, he has a deep need to be wanted and a sharp, painful sensitivity to the interest of others in him; on the other, he distrusts and fears sentiment. If he wanted to stay alive under fascism he had to judge people by what they did, not what they professed. When the worker, therefore, shows deep unmistakable interest in him and yet cannot give him what he believes he should

have, such as an apartment, or a better paying job, or more money, a conflict results. If he judges solely by her action, he must write off her regard for him as spurious, which would fly in the face of evidence to the contrary, and of help which she has already given. In addition, the evidence of his senses tells him that he no longer needs to be so distrustful, he can give his starved self to being wanted. As he does so, his cynicism begins to seem less applicable, and he feels uncomfortable. But he does not give it up. He will wait and see. The final solvent will be experience, the experience of being wanted, of being understood far better than he understands himself, and of always finding a pure strain of sincerity and reliability in the people he deals with, a condition that, unfortunately, is not found outside the casework relationship and certain controlled contacts with volunteers. After a measure of this, he can get along with less from the outside world.

A worker who understands the sources of his anxiety can help him to slow up and to become aware of his limitations and of American differences. He needs a worker who is as realistic as he is and who realizes the danger of his becoming disillusioned at the slightest sign of insincerity or unrealism, and of relapsing into his former cynicism, the haven from which he ventured forth fearfully. If he returns, he will say to himself, "You see what happened? I was right. Feeling and trust are not safe." He needs a worker who will know when his cynicism is beginning to thaw out and can help him find a new attitude which combines realism with sentiment and trust, on which all social relations are based.

Note how some of these forces operate:

Mr. G. is a twenty-three-year-old Pole. On his arrival, he was quite self-assured. He explained that he had left New York because he thought he stood a better chance in a city the size of Minneapolis. Did the worker mind? The worker assured him that the agency had authorized his settlement because it wanted him. He acknowledged this without comment.

He was then housed in our receiving home. Here he fought savagely against not being able to share a room with one of his fellow refugees from New York and later he fought against certain rules of the Home. The following day he apologized. He wanted us to understand his soul and what he had gone through. He had had more terrible experiences than a man of seventy could have had in his whole lifetime, yet he thought of himself as seventeen, the age at which he was sent to the extermination camp.

In subsequent group discussions on job and training opportunities in

Minneapolis and on some common problems of refugees, he said that he had been so exploited in Europe and had suffered so much that he simply did not have the patience to start at the bottom like the earlier refugees. He needed special consideration from someone who would recognize his natural abilities and give him a job in which he could advance rapidly. He eagerly absorbed information about American work mores and patterns of training and advancement.

When a question arose as to whether the individuals in the group would have the patience and the strength to start with menial, small-paying jobs while training themselves in the evenings for something better, one announced that he would not have the patience; another said that he would have the patience, but not the strength. Mr. G.'s reply was that if he had a goal, he would have both the patience and the strength, and he felt that if he had had such a goal in New York and had had a social worker interested in him, he would have been willing to keep the job he had there.

In the interview, later, he talked about his family. His father had been well-to-do, and Mr. G. would have studied law. Manual work would have been unthinkable for him. It was so different here. He then indicated from his experience that the strong feeling of kinship and generosity which the Polish Jews felt toward other Jews was missing here. I did not deny it. He said that he had learned that the American family relationship is much looser than the European. Brothers and sisters may see each other only at marriages or funerals. These differences were bitter to him, but he accepted them, including the necessity of working his way up from wherever he started.

We then pondered over what occupation he could enter which would not be too depressing or futureless. He was sure that factory work would be too confining and repetitive. He had thought of studying chemistry because he had been interested in it in Poland. I told him that this would mean a four-year university course and that he would not be eligible for the entrance examinations for five months. If we did undertake to help him over such a long period, we would expect him to work for his maintenance. He said he understood this, but he could not decide what to do in the meantime. He was willing to consider working in a store because it was a good place to learn English.

Although he hated restaurants, he was ready now, he said, to move into a furnished room. He wanted me to know too that he was learning English rapidly by reading newspapers and by writing letters all day long, but it was demoralizing to be unemployed and to have to take money from us. The earlier immigrants had started with a horse and wagon. If we could just give him a "horse"—an opportunity—he would ride it! We laughed together, and I said I was sure he would indeed.

In the following interview he asked first what employment leads the vocational counselor and I had for him, and then brought in one of his own, a selling job which he had run down through an acquaintance. The job would be available in a few weeks. He was full of enthusiasm, for selling

came naturally to him. I shared his feelings. Then he said that in the meantime he was taking a job in a box factory. He could not stand being idle any more. I said I could understand and that I had hoped he would come to this feeling. How different it was from his attitude the week before! He heaved a deep sigh, and nodded his head, depressed. His explanation was that he knew I was trying to do as much as I could for him, and he had no right to ask for more. The other refugees were beginning to criticize the agency, but none of them had the right to expect us to change the whole environment for them. He knew now that he was just a nobody. I looked at him questioningly, and he repeated it emphatically. Yes, he was nothing so far as his usefulness to others was concerned. I remarked how bitter his realization! He agreed, but said there was no other way for him. He would never be what he had dreamed he would be. I said I was not sure of that. I was sure, however, that it would take much longer and would be much more difficult. He said that he would have to do what the others had done, start from the bottom. After all, even Mr. Jacobs, the supervisor of family service in our agency, had had to start at that level when he had come to this country as a refugee, and he must not expect society to change for him. America expected him to work his way through, no matter what the pain, and America was right! I shared the bitterness of his feelings and said I realized the depth of his change. He kept repeating that he knew I was doing as much as I could. This seemed to fortify and stimulate him.

This case shows how to get to the suffering, struggling self behind the high tension and bluster of the refugee, and help him through the self-appraisal which is the beginning of adjustment.

Whenever I find myself too preoccupied with the characteristics of refugees which give them and us trouble—I recall a certain meeting of employers at which they too became preoccupied with the factors which gave them trouble: the relationship of refugees to other workers, their inability to take criticism, their inability to turn out enough work, etc. When they had finished, one employer remarked that in spite of everything, he could not remember a single refugee, out of more than a dozen in his plant, who had not in time become a good worker. The others gave hearty agreement. Each one remembered somebody who was outstanding, and no one could remember a single failure. They all marveled at how quickly the refugees had learned the language and the necessary industrial operations. The memory of these employers restores my perspective.

POTENTIALITIES OF SOCIAL SERVICE TO CHILDREN

By Geraldine M. Aves

A DEFINITION OF MY SUBJECT would seem to imply a consideration of the services which will give every child in the community the maximum opportunity of developing his powers and his personality for his own happiness and for the benefit of society. It would once have been true to say that these services would be wholly conditioned by the social and economic development of the community in which the child was living. Today we know that that statement must be qualified. Already it is one of the outstanding characteristics of the troubled, extraordinarily interesting age in which we live that the developments or the regressions of one country can no longer be regarded as of purely national interest. In the field of child care this is especially true. It is a sphere of activity in which the nations of the world admit to a community of interest so that an exchange of knowledge and experience among them is gradually becoming an accepted feature of international work. When, therefore, I discuss developments in Great Britain they should be considered from two points of view—what they mean in terms of social advance in the national sphere; and what, if anything, might be applicable internationally.

It will perhaps sharpen our perspective of current developments if we consider for a moment the situation in children's services in Great Britain before the second World War. In the sphere of health, we had a full medical and maternity and child welfare service, though the provision of treatment facilities was by no means fully adequate. In the sphere of education, school attendance was compulsory between the ages of five and fourteen, and such ancillary social services as existed were rarely staffed by trained workers. The child guidance clinics numbered roughly sixty for the whole country, about one third of which were to be found within the school medical service. A steady flow of trained psychiatric social workers was coming from our only mental health training course, at the London School of Economics. The child neglected in his own home had the protection

of the Children and Young Persons Act of 1933, but the preventive or constructive action which could be taken under that act was very limited so long as the child remained in the care of his own parents. Great progress had been made in the treatment of children committed to approved schools through the juvenile courts, and the old-fashioned type of reformatory had pretty well passed away with that name, which disappeared from the official vocabulary. The child who required care away from his own home fell somewhat fortuitously into the hands of the Poor Law authorities or of some voluntary body and received an upbringing of a more or less institutional type. All children boarded out with foster parents were subject to supervision up to the age of nine, and only those for whom local authorities had direct responsibility were supervised after that age. Within the local government authorities, responsibility for children was divided among the public assistance, education, and public health departments, with the result of varying standards, overlapping in some areas, and gaps in others. There was no specific provision for the employment of trained social workers, though they were to be found in a few areas and, notably, in London.

Then came the war years, with their profound dislocation of family life; evacuation from the densely populated areas; the impact of city populations and city problems on rural homes and communities; the jolt to the public conscience and to public understanding which this impact gave; and the realization of the need for social workers, for increased maternity and child welfare facilities, for skilled psychiatric advice. Thus there came about the beginnings of a movement to employ trained and experienced social workers, both by the Ministry of Health and by the local authorities. We remember gratefully the help given at that time by a small band of trained Canadian social workers who worked in the evacuation services and helped to stimulate a better understanding of the principles and methods of boarding out.

Toward the close of the war, public opinion was first shocked and then startled into action by a grievous disclosure of the neglect, ill-treatment, and subsequent death of a child boarded out through a local authority. As a result, the Care of Children Committee was appointed by the government to "inquire into existing methods of providing for children who, from loss of parents or from any cause whatever, are deprived of a normal home life with their own parents or relatives; and to consider what further measures should be taken

to insure that these children are brought up under conditions best calculated to compensate them for the lack of parental care." This committee, under the chairmanship of Myra Curtis, issued its final report in September, 1946, a social document of great interest and value, containing recommendations of far-reaching importance which are, for the most part, enshrined in the Children bill. Without waiting for legislation, one important administrative recommendation was carried out when central responsibility for the services concerned was vested in one government department, namely, the Home Office, the central department already concerned with juvenile courts and legislation for the protection of children.

The Children bill is designed to provide fully for the needs of children deprived of a normal home life and to keep them in continuing care until the age of eighteen. To this end it requires that the responsible local authorities, namely, the county councils and county borough councils, should appoint a new *ad hoc* committee to be called a Children's Committee which would be charged with the sole duty of caring for such children, and should appoint a children's officer who, with the assistance of any additional staff required, would carry out the work for which the Committee is responsible. The children's officer is expected to be a person, usually a woman, of the best qualifications educationally and with administrative experience in work with children. This type of appointment, which carries with it a relatively high administrative status, is quite new in our social work field.

Among the children for whom the bill provides are those who hitherto could be dealt with under the Poor Law, that famous Elizabethan statute which, with its wide powers and all the historic variations in its interpretation, comes to an end on July 5, 1948. The wording of the Children bill makes it clear that destitution will no longer be the sole factor which determines whether or not the local authority has a duty to provide care. The authority must now have regard to any circumstances which make it impossible for parent or guardian to provide "proper accommodation, maintenance and upbringing," though its intervention will depend on its being necessary in the interests of the child's welfare. There are safeguards for parental rights which make it impossible, unless by order of a court, for the local authority to assume responsibility, except as a temporary measure, without the consent of the parents if they are available.

A further group of children concerned is made up of those who, for reasons of neglect, delinquency, or being beyond control, are committed through the juvenile court to the care of the local authority or are placed in approved schools or remand homes (temporary detention homes). Under the previous act these functions were discharged by local education authorities which could refuse to assume responsibility in certain cases. Under the Children bill the local authority, through its Children's Committee, is obliged to accept the responsibility imposed on it by the court.

The Children's Committee will also be responsible for the supervision of children placed in foster homes by their parents or guardians and for whom payment is made—a responsibility now to be transferred from the public health authorities, with whom it rested under the Public Health Act of 1936. This provision will now protect all children and not only those under the age of nine.

The children in the care of voluntary societies, whether they are in children's homes or with private foster parents, form the only other large group affected by the bill. Supervision of these children is not vested in the Children's Committees of the local authority, but in the central department whose inspectors have, of course, a wide range of functions under the bill.

Hitherto, government grants have not been available except for children whose care was required by the decision of a juvenile court. In future, the State will pay for 50 percent of the services performed by local authorities and may make grants to voluntary societies for the improvement of their children's homes. These grants would come from central taxation; the balance would be paid from the taxes which are levied in their areas by the responsible county and county borough courts in the usual way.

In planning for the care of children who need a substitute home the bill specifies private foster home placement as being, in general, the preferred method. It is recognized that there will be children for whom this type of care is not necessarily suitable, and for such children group homes will continue to be provided.

In developing the type of care that is needed, the emphasis will be on small homes, on family grouping of children of mixed ages and sexes, and on a normal relationship with school and community. Care will be taken to insure that these children have the same freedom of choice that other children have as to employment when they leave

school. Although some large homes will continue to exist for some years to come, efforts will be made to reduce the institutional element to a minimum.

The bill further provides for the setting up of reception homes with facilities for the observation of the physical and mental conditions of children, and of hostels for young people over school age and under twenty-one where they may live while working or undertaking further education. In these hostels, the local authority may also accommodate other young people, which will facilitate the association of the two groups. The bill provides too for the appointment of an Advisory Council on Child Care which will be made up of persons specially qualified to deal with matters affecting the welfare of children.

The importance of providing for the training of all types of staff employed in the care of children was strongly emphasized in the Curtis Committee's report. The members regarded this matter as fundamental and issued an interim report which dealt specifically with the training of staff members working in children's homes. As soon, therefore, as the Home Office became centrally responsible for these services, a Central Training Council in Child Care was appointed, and arrangements were made for the initiation of suitable training courses. Four university courses were started in the autumn of 1947 for students whose previous qualifications and experience fit them for a one-year course in specialized training for supervision of training and arrangements, while a number of local education authorities have undertaken courses for men and women who will work in children's homes. The emphasis in syllabus is on the child as an individual, his development and his needs, and all the subjects are related to that central theme. In planning the courses and in making arrangements for practical work, which has an important part in all the courses, advice and coöperation from the Central Training Council and from the central staff are fully available. Close contact is also maintained with voluntary societies, some of which have done valuable pioneering work in the field of training, and the needs of present staff members are being met by refresher courses. The cost of training is covered by grants for tuition and other expenses and maintenance where circumstances justify, and this arrangement applies to the staffs of public and private agencies alike.

I have dwelt on the Children bill because it is the measure of greatest current interest, awakening much popular support and ex-

clusively concerned with the welfare of a special group of children. It should be remembered that it is not an isolated measure but follows a series of measures designed for the improvement of social services and applicable to all children.

In addition to the comprehensive provisions of the National Health Service Act, and the children's allowances of 5/- a head per week after the first child, payable under the Family Allowances Act of 1945, we have the National Insurance Act, to meet periods of sickness and unemployment, and the National Assistance bill, whose provisions will assist when additional help is required.

Finally, there is the Education Act of 1944, perhaps the most far-reaching measure of all. This provides for the raising of the compulsory school-leaving age to sixteen, fifteen being at present the operative age, makes primary and secondary education free, encourages the establishment of more nursery schools and school meals services, empowers local education authorities to provide clothing where necessary, and places on them the duty of seeing that adequate recreational facilities for children and young persons exist in their areas. A tremendous advance in provision for handicapped children will result from the act, which not only requires special schools of the more usual type, but also envisages boarding homes and schools for children who are maladjusted, debilitated, or handicapped in other ways.

In spite of this wealth of legislative provision, it cannot be claimed that, even now, the safeguards for the individual child are complete. The Curtis Committee felt it to be right to draw attention to a problem with which they had not been asked to deal, namely, the child neglected in his own home, and many witnesses who appeared before that committee stressed the need for further action in this direction. We have, as yet, no statutory provision for the prevention of neglect which would provide a constructive service designed to operate in the early stages. Until this gap is bridged, social workers cannot feel satisfied. On standards of training, in preventive work and in case-work generally, we have much to learn from the experience of other countries. Nevertheless, when one considers the step forward that has taken place during and since the war, when one realizes the strength of public opinion which is behind any measure designed to improve the lot of children, one cannot but feel encouraged. We are creating this children's service largely because of our determination that the special needs of these children should never again be over-

looked. Nevertheless, in all that is to be done for their care the emphasis is on supplying the family background that should be the birthright of every child. Social workers everywhere recognize that the most elaborate service one could devise for children would never succeed if we lost sight of this fundamental point.

The bill is not particularly new in the principles of social service to children which it enunciates, and we should be thankful for that fact. Why is it that the nations seem to get closest to one another when they are considering the welfare of children? Is it because, broadly speaking, they are conscious of a profound community of purpose? The child does not require artificial settings, special communities, experimental relationships. I think the only serious danger for child welfare workers is that in seeking for new methods, we sometimes mistake the method for the goal. In caring for children, can we not best do so by adhering faithfully to the pattern—respect for the individual, helping him to grow in the way that is right for him, protecting and providing the security of family life and a growing relationship with a normal community? It is because people in child welfare know the importance of these things that they can share in the work and experience of different countries with relatively little difficulty, that they can adjust to environmental and cultural differences and still rely on their fundamental principles. When I saw a lovely home for refugee children in Sweden, with its light, gay rooms, its sense of space and freedom, I said, "That is the atmosphere we should try to get in our own children's homes." When I visited a home for Jewish children in France and realized the soundness of the relationship between those children and the woman who had the care of them, I felt a keen desire to study the methods by which she had been able to give them so great a confidence in her and in themselves—and so the tale would go on if there were space to tell it.

The child enshrines the future of the race. Those of us who work for children can only be humble before that thought and ask ourselves again and again if our plans, our policies, our methods, will help a child to grow to a life of personal stability and security, so that he will be able to face all men in peace and love, in confidence and courage. That is the aim of all of us, and we must help one another to realize it.

PLACEMENT AND PROTECTIVE SERVICES IN ADOPTION

By Walter P. Townsend

WHEN WE DEAL WITH THE SUBJECT OF ADOPTION we can be sure of widespread interest, which does not necessarily mean widespread agreement. It would be accurate to say that adoption ranks as high in general public, as well as professional, interest as any topic with which social work has to do. In 1947, when the Pennsylvania legislature was considering certain rather modest proposals for revision of the adoption law, the senator who was sponsoring the amendments observed that he had never seen so much controversy and interest aroused by any such seemingly simple legislative measure. It appeared that each individual legislator had a new amendment to offer, or was in favor of strengthening, weakening, or eliminating one of the original amendments. I might add that the proposals themselves had been evolved after similar lengthy debate by a committee of social workers, lawyers, and public officials.

Because of this widespread interest, it is both possible and necessary to be selective of the points to be considered in any discussion of essentials of state and local planning for adoptions. I shall, therefore, discuss two main points: (1) problems involved in measures to facilitate agency adoptions; and (2) provisions to insure protective service to cover other adoptions.

I am using the term "protective" to define the service which uses the responsibility and authority of the state to protect the interest of the child who is being taken for adoption without benefit of agency placement service. It may not be the best possible term, but it will serve to differentiate this service from that given by placement agencies.

I believe that if a child is to be adopted, he and all those concerned with and for him can best be served by a properly qualified and equipped child placing agency. Adoption ought to be approached as a problem of child care. For any particular child the best solution may be adoption, or it may be another kind of placement, and this

ought to be determined by the agency and the parent, or other responsible person, in the light of the various possibilities. If it is to be adoption, the skills needed are those which are required and developed by child placing agencies, and the related services are those which are also related to child placing. I do not say that adoption service may not be given by a specialized agency, but I should say that such a specialized agency can best operate when it is in a community as part of, or closely related to, a general child placing program. In short, when you do adoption work, you are doing child placing, and the service ought to be built on a foundation of child placing. When adoption takes place in this way, it is not experimental or tentative, not something done with the best of intentions but with uncertainty as to the results. It is, instead, something that takes place with the greatest consideration for the feelings of those involved and on the basis of known and tested methods, consciously and knowingly used in individual case after individual case. That difference for any individual child may be tremendous in its impact on his life. We know very well that we cannot eliminate all risks; they are inherent in life itself. But we do know that in a good placement, thoughtfully and skillfully made, we offer the child many positive values along with the risk. Yes, I wish for every child who has to be adopted the benefit of such service.

Having said this, I must be realistic in appraising the distance we have to go to reach such a goal. It is considerable, and there is no easy way to travel it; in fact, the road is not clearly in view. Some advocate a law which would make it mandatory that all adoptions be made under the auspices of a properly qualified and approved agency. While this may seem to be a good idea, closer scrutiny brings to light several things that are wrong with it. To begin with, we know that we do not have such services available throughout the country; too many communities, urban as well as rural, are not supplied with anywhere near the necessary amount of child placing service. Few, if any established child placing agencies—public or private—would be equipped to deal with a problem of this scope at this time. In the country as a whole, not more than one quarter, at the most, of all nonrelative adoptions are made by agencies. When we think of the needed resources in staff and money, we can see that doubling and redoubling this part of our work is some distance in the future. Nor is it likely, in any event, that many of our state legislatures would

pass such a law, which would give such a controlling power to the staffs of these agencies. Legislation of this nature might well seem coercive, and if we were then not able to supply the service, the reaction might be serious indeed. What we do need are provisions in the law that are enabling and supporting rather than coercive.

I think I speak for many others who are responsible for agency work when I say that I would rather see a sounder and, if necessary, slower development of agency resources and the will to use them on the part of natural parents, adopting parents, and doctors, lawyers, and others who seek to help them in solving their adoption problems. There is hope in this approach. Certainly, in a comparatively few years the development and application of sound methods of adoption placement have been encouraging. Moreover, there is a growing body of informed public opinion favorable to the agency method. Four recent publications bear out this assertion.

The reports of two study committees, one in the state of California in 1946 and the other in Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, in 1947, advocate that agency resources for adoption be increased as the best method of meeting the adoption problem. The book *Adopting a Child,* by Frances L. Lockridge, and the pamphlet "When You Adopt a Child," issued by the United States Children's Bureau, both addressed to adopting parents, stress the advantages of agency placements. There is reason to believe that this public backing can be increased as we are able further to develop and extend our services. It is well for us to understand, however, what is involved in such a growth of service.

If a majority of all adoptions are now arranged under nonagency auspices and if it looks like a long pull to improve the situation, it is necessary to consider what can be done to protect the children thus taken for adoption. Is it necessary to protect them? Who has the responsibility? What sort of protection is the most effective and the most helpful to all involved? These are hard questions, and I am free to confess that I am by no means sure of all the answers. It does seem clear that the community owes to these children a protective service which is devoted to their best interests and which will see to it that adults who seek to satisfy a need of their own, or who are zealous in helping others to do so, do not contravene the welfare of the child.

The court in which the petition for adoption is filed is plainly one of the community's chief instruments for this purpose. It is pertinent

to ask whether the court alone is always equipped for this job and whether it can be brought into the picture early enough so that it is fair to put upon it the entire responsibility. Too often the first notice that any responsible official has of a contemplated adoption is when the adoption petition is filed in court. This may be, and very often is, after the child has been in the home for a considerable time, and the judge is confronted with what is in effect an accomplished fact. To determine that this adoption is or is not for the best interests of the child, he needs more information than he has before him in the petition, or than he can gather as he talks with the adopting parents. He needs the benefit of a careful study made by competent, experienced staff trained for the purpose. In many states the state department of public welfare is given definite responsibility for study and recommendation to the courts on each individual adoption.

Even though we cannot give to all children the advantages of agency placement, there would seem to be very real advantages for them in this protective service. It seems to me, however, that one of the weakest spots in all our defense of the child's interest is that such a study may come after the actual placement has taken place. How can the service be given at an early enough time so that it can be more effective? An effort in this direction has been made in the laws of several states by a provision making it necessary for a family wishing to adopt a child to register such intention and secure approval from the appropriate public body before taking him into their home. Given enough publicity through key sources, such as doctors and lawyers, and positive coöperation, this effort would seem to have real possibilities. It is, of course, necessary to have a properly equipped agency to receive these applications for study, and to approve or reject them. This function is similar to that of licensing independent foster homes, which is already carried by many states. I should say that its success depends upon the same factors of helpfulness and skill on the part of the agency and the degree of coöperation that can be obtained in support of its work.

As a placement agency executive I naturally have as my greatest interest planning in relation to the extension and development of placement facilities. I believe, however, that all these services are essential and that they should go hand in hand. In addition to what it does for the children it serves, the existence of a good protective

service ought to be of great value in pointing up the necessity for agency placements and in stimulating support for them.

In any discussion of essentials in adoption planning it is necessary to consider whether or not changes in the law are to be advocated. There are certain positive values which can be provided in the law. For a detailed discussion of them I refer you to the forthcoming publication of the United States Children's Bureau, "Essentials of the Adoption Law." It is quite possible of course, to put too much reliance on legislation as a cure-all for bad adoptions. In the nature of the legislative process, a law must represent a meeting of many minds, and it is quite likely to represent a compromise on some issues. It is necessarily general rather than rigidly specific, in its provisions and must leave a real measure of discretion to those who are to enforce it, whether they be judges or administrative officers. Thus the rules of court procedure, the body of court decisions on issues raised, and administrative rules and regulations drawn as a guide to the staffs who do the day-to-day work become, in time, as important as the provisions of the law itself. Implicit in any legal or legislative provision which can be made for placement or protective service in adoptions is the necessity for the greatest coöperation between agencies and courts. We are dealing here with questions which have both social and legal angles, and neither court nor agency can be fully effective without the other. The division of responsibility between them should be made as clear as possible, but there will have to be coöperation or the result will be much less than the best that could be hoped for.

A public agency which is charged with the responsibility for investigation and recommendation to the court or for licensing adoption homes must be given some clear authority in the law. It is not exactly a matter of choice on the part of the adopting family as to whether or not it turns to the agency for help. Nevertheless, we know from the experience of many agencies that this authority can be soundly and constructively used so that family as well as child is helped. Legislation in regard to placement agencies, public and private, may provide for minimum standards which they have to meet in order to operate, but provisions in the law itself should be enabling in character. Most placement agencies follow the procedure of accepting from the child's parent or parents responsibility for selecting a

home and carrying through the adoption. In some states consent to the specific adoption may be given by the agency to which the child is thus surrendered, but in others, such as Pennsylvania, no such provision is made. It would be very helpful, it seems to me, if clear and definite sanction for the agency method of adoption placement could be made in the law. A judicial proceeding for this relinquishment by the parent and to give legal custody or guardianship to the agency might be necessary and, if so, should be provided for in the law. The whole question of guardianship and legal custody is one which needs much further study and thought.

I return now to the question of increasing the proportion of agency adoptions, of expanding agency services so that they will be available to all who wish to use them. Before we can think constructively about this kind of expansion, it is necessary to consider what comprises the service, who gives it, what it costs, what other services in a community are used by a placement agency. In thinking through any such general problem it helps us if we bring it down to specific cases. I should like, therefore, to draw on the experience of our agency in making two recent adoption placements, which have now been completed by court decree. I should like to point out too that the staff time used is that of trained and skilled caseworkers and supervisors. Such time is greatly in demand, it is costly, and, because of its scarcity, it is difficult to supply. It is also rewarding in what it returns in services to the community and to the children and parents to whose use it is put.

The first case has to do with a child who was ten years old before her adoption was completed. She was born to an unmarried mother living in a rural community. When the mother deserted the child, her relatives took the little girl, but in the end the placement broke up because they really did not want her. Because of this unsatisfactory experience the six-year-old child was highly disturbed by the time she was placed with the Rural Child Welfare Service. Since she was free of parental ties the question of adoption placement could be considered, and she was therefore placed with the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania by the Rural Child Welfare Service. A long period of care in a foster home was necessary, with the intensive help of a child guidance clinic, before we could feel that adoption placement was possible for her. Because of her age and her insecurity, selection and preparation of an adoption home for her constituted a difficult

and complicated problem. That this placement has been successfully completed speaks well for all who were concerned, with a full measure of congratulations to the adopting parents who had so much to give the child.

The other case is the more usual one of the baby of an unmarried mother who was able to come to a decision that adoption placement represented the best chance for her child. This is such a typical situation that it might seem unnecessary to comment on it. It should be pointed out, however, that this mother required maternity home care, medical and hospital service, and the skillful and intensive help of a caseworker in arriving at her painful decision. Her baby required temporary foster home placement, including the services of a caseworker, psychological tests, the intensive medical care that a small baby needs, clothing, and everything else that must be provided. In order to select a foster home for him our adoption workers gave the case a great deal of time and care. All in all, although this is a typical placement, it involved the services of a large number of people and heavy expenditures.

Ours is an expensive service, yet who could say that the money is not well spent? For the baby, a thoroughly satisfactory life plan was evolved within less than two years, including the year in his adoption home before the court proceeding, and it is good for the rest of his life. For the ten-year-old girl, a fearfully damaged life was rescued, and the conditions for emotional security were set up.

My reason for citing these cases is to show the range which agency services must cover and to point up what we must be concerned with when we advocate agency placement as the major approach to the adoption problem. Pertinent is the fact that a placement agency is primarily confronted with the problem of children needing care, for some of whom adoption is the best solution while for others it is not. I say an agency is confronted with this problem; I really mean that a community—every community—has this need, and the agency is its resource for meeting it. It will emphasize the point if I say that in a year when our agency places fifty children for adoption it cares for a total of more than one hundred; in other words, less than half will be adopted, and care must be provided for all. To meet the needs of our children we must have placement agencies, with adoption as one of the services offered. And let us not forget that many of the mothers of those children are confronted with the equally serious problem of

securing care and help for themselves before and after the children are born.

One more consideration has to do with the number of families who apply for children. In order to place fifty children for adoption, we must work, not with fifty, but with several hundred families. A placement agency has as its primary responsibility the care it must provide for its children, but in addition it must feel a definite responsibility to the community for the consideration it offers to families who want to adopt a child. Even though we cannot promise a child to all these families, we feel that we do owe them an opportunity to discuss their very real desire to take a child into their home, to know the agency's appreciation of what they have to offer, and to understand the facts of the situation. Difficult as it is to provide the time for all these interviews, we must realize that they are an important part of the service we offer and one we cannot neglect if we value the support of our communities.

The reality, then, of the situation in regard to our aspiration to extend agency adoption placements is something like this:

1. Agencies have developed sound and workable methods of placing children for adoption, which seem to offer the best service for the child, his own parents, and the adopting parents.

2. There is very real backing from informed, thoughtful opinion in our communities for the agency approach to adoptions. There is also opposition, but as we are able to develop and extend our services it should be possible to overcome some of this.

3. It is necessary to center attention on the fact that when we seek to extend agency adoptions, we must extend child placing services and services for the parents of these children.

4. It is also necessary to face the fact that in order to extend child placing services, much more money will have to be forthcoming from our communities, and provision will have to be made for developing and training our professional workers.

It seems to me that the crux of the problem is expressed in two words, "staff" and "money." There is no reality to the idea of increasing the coverage and competence of the child placing services unless that idea can be converted into the resources with which the work can be done. It is almost a *cliché* to say that the number of trained and qualified workers for child welfare is far short of the demand. If we accept such a situation with resignation, then our chances are slim

indeed. It is heartening and stimulating to know that the United States Children's Bureau is stressing the provision of money for training purposes. All other agencies, public and private, state and local, must do the same. I put the primary emphasis, however, on staff; we can feel confident, I believe, that as we are able to develop the staff for the positions which are needed, we will be able concurrently to develop the financial resources.

I have tried to point out the necessity for supplying both placement and protective services for children who are to be adopted. This will require long-term effort and clear thinking on the part of those who are responsible for local, state, and Federal planning for children's services. In my opinion, it will require the resources and the resourcefulness of all three if we are to reach the objective. We should not look for any quick and easy solution to these problems. In their very nature they call for the earnest and sustained work of many persons and of many agencies, public and private. That work is worth doing.

MAINTAINING FOSTER HOMES THROUGH CASEWORK SKILLS

By Draza Kline and Helen Mary Overstreet

THE FIRST REQUIREMENT for keeping a foster home is choosing the right home in the beginning. To do this we must understand the child; with the resources of psychiatrist, psychologist, medical clinic, and study home to use as needed, our chances of obtaining a sufficiently full picture to guide us in our planning are greatly enhanced. We then try to select the right foster home in the light of understanding the foster parents, their motivations, their capacity to meet the child's needs, and their ability to work with the agency. Through the initial study we gain a limited picture of the family and clews to real or potential weaknesses and strengths. We use these as a guide in making a tentative plan, but we have found that it is through the preplacement interviews with foster parents, related to a specific child, that we obtain a sufficiently full delineation of the personalities of the foster parents and their attitudes toward individual problems to enable us to confirm or reject the plan. As in all casework situations, diagnosis and evaluation both of child and foster parents are a continuous process, serving at the outset to help us select the right home for the child, and later guiding the treatment plan and determining the casework skills to be used to maintain the placement.

We have implied that foster parents can use the services of the caseworker. Our second general observation is that foster parents vary in their need for and ability to use such service. There are situations in which the child's needs do not exceed the intuitiveness of the foster parents, and the family achieves healthy, satisfying interrelationships with a minimum of service from the agency once the placement has been stabilized. Other foster parents need but cannot use casework services. In these instances the caseworker's skill lies in her ability to make such an evaluation, and then to exert special care to place only a child who fits into the home as it is, since we cannot expect the foster parents to change. Our most enriching experience in learning skills that have a wide application has come from our work with a

third group—the educable foster parents who make homes for disturbed children needing special understanding and care. It is apparent that kindliness and warmth must be supplemented by knowledge and skill if the child is to have the environmental treatment he needs. Few foster parents have the training to qualify them for the taxing job of caring for such children. There is no reason why even the most adequate foster parent should expect himself or be expected by us to do this job without help from a specialist. The caseworker can provide this help by virtue of her general knowledge of the development of children, her specific knowledge and understanding of the individual child and his needs, and her ability to adapt casework skills to the foster parents' learning patterns as they relate to the child.

Our third observation is that foster parents can accept and use such help only within the framework of a positive relationship with the caseworker. Although this is a basic casework principle, we are often unclear about the nature of the relationship and the application of casework skills to the interviewing situation in our work with foster parents. Since this lack of clarity interferes with the development of the relationship, we have tried to identify some of the factors that contribute to this. One is the tendency of foster parents to establish the interviews in a "social" atmosphere. By this we mean serving tea or introducing other social amenities. The relatively inexperienced worker is often puzzled or anxious about this. It is helpful to recognize that the relationship between foster parent and caseworker is founded on the basis of mutual service to a child and that the goal of the interviews is to achieve this service. The social atmosphere is a natural part of the situation and has positive value to the foster parents since this represents their own social customs. Our objective, then, is to learn to use techniques for directing the interviews into productive channels within this social situation.

Another factor which tends to interfere with the caseworker's application of skills is her identification with the child. This may arise naturally from the facts that the agency's function is to care for the child and the caseworker's goal is to promote and safeguard his well-being. This concern for the child at times leads to an urgency on our part to see that the child's needs are met and makes us less accepting of foster parents' feelings, less objective in evaluating them, and less skillful in meeting them than would be true in the worker-client

relationship. To be of positive value to the child, we need to become adept at meeting the feelings of the foster parents, and recognizing when they are psychologically ready to learn.

A fifth factor which may complicate the relationship between worker and foster parent is the assignment of a "supervising worker" whose traditional function has been to check up on the care given the child and who possesses authority to continue or terminate the placement. Inherent in this concept of the worker's role is a potential threat to foster parents. However, this may reflect a partial, hence inaccurate, concept of the worker's function. If the agency sees the worker's role as that of helping families develop their potentialities for being adequate foster parents, this can be conveyed, partly through verbal definition, but chiefly through the way in which the worker uses herself. The worker initially establishes her relationship with foster parents on the basis of recognition of their competence; she can maintain this relationship through her continued cognizance of the positive values of the foster home, and through making herself a noncritical, helpful person in relation to weaknesses, in order to enable foster parents to take suggestions without feeling criticized.

As our final general observation, we wish to emphasize our conviction that the preplacement preparation of foster parents plays an essential role in determining the success of the placement. In addition to giving us valuable information about the family, these interviews serve to orient the foster parents to the job they are undertaking, and give them and the agency an opportunity to withdraw from the plan without subjecting the child to another rejection. The number of such interviews is decided by the needs of the case, but we have found that the variation is usually from two to four. The content may include a detailed picture of the child, his needs, essential facts about his past experience, and perspective of his future development. Emphasis will vary in relation to differences in age, sex, physical and emotional development, and family ties.

When a child has problems, information about his background and simple, generalized interpretation of the experiences which cause the symptomatic behavior are given to bring about an understanding of the child and a sympathetic attitude toward him, and to stimulate foster parents to initiate questions about handling him. Anticipating problems and describing the child's usual patterns of behavior serve to cushion the foster parents' reactions when problems arise. Sharing

this information at the outset makes the foster parents aware that they alone are not responsible for deviant behavior when it appears and tends to free them from the need to conceal and struggle with the problems alone. This makes it possible for caseworker and foster parents, together, to find appropriate ways of handling the problems before they assume serious proportions. Through these early interviews the worker establishes herself as the person who will share responsibility for the child and lays the foundation for her future working relationship.

We have selected excerpts from the case of Lucy to illustrate some of the foregoing observations, but primarily, to point out the casework skills which were used in developing Lucy's present foster home. This case was selected because both the child and the foster mother presented problems that are common to many cases in a child placing agency, and the skills used are generally applicable to work with foster parents. In addition, the case illustrates clearly the damaging effects of replacement. We know that all children react with hostility to the rejection inherent in being moved, and this hostility is expressed in some kind of symptom formation. We will see that Lucy's symptoms were largely the result of a series of replacements. She had been under the care of the agency since infancy, and although her need for special care was repeatedly noted, this was not available due to the lack of adequate resources and skill. When she was thirteen, the seriousness of her symptoms made it clear that unless she was given help promptly the prognosis would be hopeless. At this time every effort was made to provide a specialized service. The case has had the benefit of careful planning through psychiatric consultation and close supervision, and the interviews have been recorded in sufficient detail to permit analysis of the interaction between the worker and foster mother.

Lucy, a fifteen-year-old Negro girl, has lived in her present foster home for the past year. She is of low average intelligence and is a freshman in high school. She was illegitimate. At the age of eighteen months she was placed in a nursery, and then deserted by her mother. She experienced six foster home placements before she was ten years old. Several placements were terminated by her unacceptable behavior, one by the foster mother's jealousy of the foster father's attachment to the child, and one by the death of a foster mother. Due to insecurity in her placements, lack of continuity of experience, and careless training, Lucy gradually developed a number of symptoms. At thirteen these included inability to relate to people, stealing,

hiding her soiled clothing, excessive eating, soiling, and diurnal and nocturnal enuresis. She was impulsive in all areas, biological, oral, motor, and social. The soiling and wetting continued as a means of expressing her anger at the persons who rejected her, and she used the symptoms to spite foster parents when she suffered a real or fancied rejection. Her symptoms took this form because of inconsistent handling; she had never learned to control her impulses, and when angry, did something that was mean. The meanest thing she could do was wet and soil. Her lack of satisfaction in relationships with people except for the hostile element caused her to withdraw into fantasy for pleasurable experiences, so that she was often passive and withdrawn and seemed out of rapport with reality. The stealing and excessive eating, in this case, were found to be manifestations of her attempt to overcome the deprivations she had suffered. Hiding soiled clothing was a simple technique for avoiding unpleasant tasks. Treatment with a caseworker was instituted at this time, under the direction of the agency's psychiatric consultant. This was in progress for a year and a half before the present placement. Essential throughout the treatment was the maintenance by the worker of a giving, consistent relationship. Within this framework, casework treatment was centered on ego training with constant attack on reality orientation. At the point of her present placement the child had given up her symptoms of withdrawal, showed a greatly increased capacity for relationships, and presented a true picture of an impulsive child who needed education and training in all areas.

Lucy needed foster parents who would accept her and protect her from impulsiveness through kind, consistent firmness and reliable restrictions on her behavior. She needed, too, the kind of help in growing up that is typically indicated for the child of three or four, but qualified by recognition of her adolescent interests which required freedom within a safe framework. Understanding of this child and use of appropriate techniques for helping her could be achieved only by a foster mother who could accept the guidance of a caseworker. Two workers were assigned because it was thought that Lucy's relationship with her worker would be disturbed if the same worker also saw the foster mother. It was anticipated that Lucy's soiling and failure to care for her soiled clothing and her enuresis and carelessness about her bedding would be a source of disgust to most foster parents; her language and free conversation about sex would be shocking; her provocativeness and disobedience would bring reactive hostility; little satisfaction would be gained from a relationship with her. At the same time, her attractive appearance, and good-humored joking made her likable, and her capacity to change and make progress, which had already been demonstrated, offered a challenge which might appeal to the type of foster mother who would get

enough gratification from achievement to help compensate for the lack of other satisfactions.

The foster home selected consisted of foster parents in their early fifties and a son, twenty-three, who was engaged to be married. The foster father was good-natured, jolly, and interested in the placement. The foster mother was attractive, seemed warm and motherly and alert. The family was active in cultural affairs in the community and church. They lived an orderly life according to reasonable routines, but the foster mother could be flexible when there was reason.

The foster mother's history indicated that she had an overly strict father and a fault-finding mother; she lived in a foster home while attending school because her father's work made it necessary for him to travel. She identified somewhat with the problems of the agency children and seemed to want to offer a child a corrective experience on the basis of identification. In her struggle for a college education, consciousness of her position in the community, and pride in the achievements of her sisters could be seen a strong achievement drive and need for status. Additional motives for seeking a foster child were a wish for companionship and need for financial supplementation to help make payments on the home to which her son had previously contributed.

The foster mother's interest in children, capacity to make rules, flexibility, and wish to understand children's problems indicated that Lucy might progress in this home. There were several recognized dangers: the foster mother might be rivalrous with her worker, whose knowledge and professional status could stimulate the feelings of inferiority which lay beneath her need for prestige, and envious of Lucy's worker, who would possess the child's confidences. Her wish for companionship might be frustrated by Lucy's social interests, and she might be threatened by misbehavior if it affected her status in the community. Gratification would have to come from pride in achievement as progress was made; the support and encouragement of the worker as her role was recognized as an important one; and financial compensation in so far as this was possible.

The preplacement preparation of the foster parents was as follows:

> Once the family's interest in Lucy had been established by the home-finding worker, Lucy's worker visited the home to explore this further. The foster mother was taken into the worker's confidence and given a complete picture of the child's background, her symptoms, and her needs. She responded with sympathetic comments which hinted at identification with

Lucy. She was told that this undertaking would require a good deal of investment from the foster parents and special handling of problems which she would want to talk over with her own worker, who would be assigned to give this service. To forestall possible fear of failure, it was explained that if there were failures, it would not reflect on the foster parents but would indicate that they had undertaken a difficult job. The worker made clear that some of the symptoms might not appear at first, might never appear, or might be worse then usual during the first few weeks. After knowing the nature of Lucy's problems, the family was interested in moving ahead. They were cautioned to explore this fully with their own worker before reaching a final decision.

In the first interview with the caseworker who had no direct contact with Lucy, the foster mother expressed her real concerns and revealed her reactions. She confided that she had been "taken off her feet" when told about Lucy's soiling and inability to care for her own clothing. With the worker's acceptance and encouragement she questioned the previous statements that she should not expect the child to wash her own garments. The worker agreed that it was strange behavior and hard to understand. However, she thought that if they talked about the reasons, the foster mother might understand it better and would see that Lucy, too, was unhappy about her behavior. The girl's lack of consistent care and training when a child were elaborated. It was pointed out that although she had grown physically, she was in many ways a small child.

As the foster mother followed the explanation, she asked questions about previous foster homes. The worker was cautious not to depreciate them, gave the realistic reasons why they had broken up, and emphasized the wish to place Lucy in a home where, by working together, the foster mother and the worker could find out how best to help Lucy. The foster mother told of having sought information about the causes of children's behavior when she was puzzled by her son when he was small. The worker stressed the professional nature of such an undertaking and the ways in which the foster mother's qualifications would help. The foster mother responded by discussion of the handling of soiling. She volunteered that adolescents do not like to do chores unless they have help or are interested in them. The worker agreed and thought that it might be helpful if the foster mother could suggest that they go to the basement together to rinse the clothing, thus giving her companionship and instruction at the same time. The foster mother participated by giving concrete illustrations of how this might be done.

Here we see the importance of meeting the feelings of the foster parent before offering information or advice. The worker accepted the foster mother's shocked reactions before attempting to help her understand the reasons for the soiling, thus enabling her to move ahead. Advice was given after the foster mother understood and indicated some acceptance of the symptoms, hence was psychologically

ready for it. The caseworker utilized her knowledge of the foster mother's character by appealing to her wish to do a professional job. By guarding against criticism of previous foster parents, she helped establish herself as an accepting, noncritical person. In this interview the worker laid the foundation for a positive working relationship and defined her role as a helping person.

In the next interview the foster mother talked with increasing freedom. She referred to earlier conversations about Lucy's association with sexually delinquent girls and expressed concern about the responsibility of foster parents for adolescent girls who "get in trouble." The worker was sympathetic with this concern, acknowledged the reality of it, and said that Lucy's behavior would be no reflection on the foster parents. As the foster mother was reassured, she discussed the protection that could be given Lucy. She asked for help in determining reasonable hours and suggested that she would encourage Lucy to bring her boy friends home.

It is common for foster parents to be concerned about their responsibility for a child of any age who may get into serious trouble, and often they are relieved when absolved of blame and when the agency clearly shares responsibility. Here, when the foster mother's anxiety was relieved, she was able to consider constructive techniques for protecting the child from her impulses.

Later in the interview the foster mother indirectly questioned Lucy's continuing interviews with her worker. She implied that she was fearful of losing the opportunity to enjoy Lucy's confidence and that her faults might be exposed through the child's reports to the worker. It was explained that the foster home care was the major part of helping Lucy. Only the foster mother could give the child a home, affection, and retraining. The caseworker, for one hour each week, would try to help overcome Lucy's distrust of adults which arose from early experiences. This was necessary to make her better able to enjoy the relationship which the foster parents could offer. It was explained that workers learn to evaluate children's reports of their homes and the foster mother need not fear criticism of her handling of Lucy: mistakes by caseworkers and foster mother were inevitable, for Lucy was a trying child. At the end of the hour the foster mother was eager to meet Lucy and a visit was arranged.

The foster mother's envy of Lucy's worker and fear of criticism had been anticipated, partly due to hints about her character noticed at the outset and partly because these are common reactions in foster parents whose children are under treatment. Minimizing the importance of the worker as compared to the foster mother decreased

her envy, and recognizing the inevitability of mistakes decreased her fear of exposure. Most foster parents need clarification that workers do not take a child's complaints at face value.

In the third interview, the foster mother spoke warmly of Lucy's visit, saying that the family liked her and were eager to have her live with them. Lucy's shyness reminded her of her own childhood fear of strangers and the necessity of readjusting to strange communities as her family moved about the country. As she became absorbed in her reminiscences, the worker directed the interview back to Lucy by commenting gently that these experiences would help her understand Lucy in a special way; for instance, she would be able to understand why it would be hard for Lucy to give up her friends in the old neighborhood all at once. The foster mother responded that it might be some time before Lucy would want to change from her old church to the family church where much of their social life centered.

The worker then showed the rubber sheeting she had purchased. (This had been discussed in a previous interview.) She commented that wetting was a nuisance and that they should find easy ways of coping with it. She suggested that if the foster mother would like to send the sheets to the laundry, the agency would assume the expense. The foster mother was pleased and said that it would be easy in this way to help Lucy since she would only have to ask her to remove the sheets from her bed.

The worker prepared her for the initial period of readjustment, which would hold problems for Lucy and the foster mother. She added that, together, worker and foster mother would try to find effective ways of solving the problems. She offered to visit weekly. The foster mother was eager for the visits to continue. She was encouraged to telephone between visits if she wished.

The foster mother's tendency to reminisce held in it certain recognized dangers. She seemed to have strong dependent needs and could easily use the interviews for personal reminiscences unrelated to the child unless safeguards were observed. The worker did not terminate the confidences abruptly, but neither did she explore them further. She set a pattern for the interviews by directing the foster mother's recollections toward enhancing her understanding of Lucy, thus appropriately directing the interview.

Rubber sheeting supplied by the agency for enuretic children is a useful technique to spare the foster mothers extra effort in connection with a problem which inevitably is a nuisance and may create hostility to the child. It provides a natural opportunity for discussion of the handling of enuresis, at a point where the foster mother is accessible, since the worker is giving concrete help. Reimbursement for

laundry or for ruined bedding is especially important in cases where the foster parents are partially motivated by financial considerations.

By the end of the last preplacement interview, the foster mother was aware that the worker could help her understand Lucy and find constructive ways of handling her problems; she had had the experience of finding the worker a helpful, noncritical, supportive person. The worker had established herself as the person who would share responsibility for the child and to whom the foster mother could turn for help at any time.

Following the placement it was found that the family accepted and liked the child from the outset. She, in turn, attempted to please them in many ways. Her symptoms were about as expected with the exception of day wetting and soiling, which did not appear at any time; nocturnal enuresis was sporadic at first.

Interviews centered on daily occurrences, with the foster mother submitting specific problems for help. She was troubled about Lucy's staying out at night and did not know how far she should go in being firm about hours; she implied that she was afraid the child would not like her. The worker then gave active help in working out a schedule of hours and supported the foster mother in holding to this unless there was a good reason for an exception, pointing out that firmness was good for Lucy: it would protect her from the results of late hours, and her feeling of security with the family would increase because all impulsive children feel the need for guidance from a loved person.

Here, the importance of early and regular visiting by the worker is illustrated. We see the foster mother, out of her need to win the child's love, vacillating about restrictions which were essential to Lucy's welfare. Had Lucy been handled inconsistently in this matter, the problem would have grown into a serious one which might have jeopardized the placement. With the help of the worker the foster mother was able to be firm, to set regulations, and help Lucy comply with them. This did not reappear as a problem although it came up for discussion in subsequent interviews.

After about a month Lucy made her first comments about sex. The foster mother confided that Lucy's language had shocked her. The worker said that Lucy was probably testing the foster mother to see whether she would like her when she talked this way, and pointed out that this was why the worker had mentioned at the outset that Lucy would reveal shocking information. The foster mother responded, saying, "The agency workers certainly know their work."

Here we note what is a very common mistake. The worker did not permit the foster mother to express her reactions to the child's behavior; she interpreted the possible reasons for it and implied that the foster mother should have been prepared since the problem had been anticipated with her. The foster mother's praise of the agency workers at this point was a hostile comment growing out of the feelings of frustration and inferiority that had been stimulated. It was then necessary for the worker to restore the foster mother's sense of adequacy, which she did, and later enabled her to discuss anxieties connected with her own experiences in receiving sex information and to ask for help in answering Lucy's questions.

At times the foster mother was discouraged by Lucy's lack of responsiveness. In one instance when the foster mother had expressed interest in her, Lucy shrugged it off, saying, "All foster mothers look alike to me." The foster mother commented to the worker, "I swallowed hard and tried to remember all the things you had told me."

At these times the foster mother relied solely on the worker's support to carry her through discouraging periods. Her deeply rooted sensitivity to rejection made Lucy's indifference more difficult to accept than misbehavior. In this area, anticipation of the child's attitudes and understanding of the causes at the outset were essential to cushion the blow when it came. At other times, when discouragement arose over enuresis or other symptoms, the worker used the technique of reviewing with the foster mother the gains that had been made since placement, thus giving her some satisfaction in achievement and motivating her toward future efforts.

After the worker had been visiting in the home for about six months it was noted that the foster mother's skill with the child had increased markedly. In connection with teaching Lucy how to behave when visiting in other homes, she told her that she was nice looking and likable and that she did not need to clown in order to be liked. As she praised Lucy for desirable qualities, the clowning subsided. From this the foster mother generalized that she now placed the emphasis on how Lucy's behavior would affect Lucy. She felt that was better than making herself the one to be pleased. She said that she learned this approach from her talks with the worker and it worked with her husband, too.

In this comment is a tribute both to the foster mother and to the caseworker. It implies that the foster mother was educable and that the caseworker had mastered the skills most essential in making it possible for a foster mother to learn.

This case illustrates how foster parents learn to give care to a child, and it shows that the learning process takes place within the framework of a positive relationship to the caseworker. To maintain this relationship the worker must be sensitive at all times to negative feelings which enter the relationship, and skillful in dissipating them when they arise. The foster mother learned after her feelings were met with acceptance, and she learned in relation to specific problems as she discussed them.

At the outset, we knew that this child could not meet the needs of the foster mother fully, but through the worker's recognition and help and the child's progress, they were met partially. At points of discouragement, the worker recaptured for the foster mother the progress made by the child, enabling her to see it in perspective; thus her need for achievement was met and incentive for continuing was sharpened. Throughout, the techniques and skills used were determined by the caseworker's understanding of the basic motivations and needs of the foster mother and the needs of the child.

We want to emphasize that this kind of work with foster parents requires infinite patience, self-awareness, and self-discipline, continuous, careful analysis of the feelings that govern the interaction in the foster home, skill in meeting the feelings that are aroused, and knowledge that aids in resolving problems related to the child. This is a demanding and tedious job; compensation lies in achieving a constructive foster home for a troubled child, and making possible the development of a well-adjusted citizen rather than a social misfit.

PENO-CORRECTIONAL PHILOSOPHY IN RETROSPECT

By Edwin J. Lukas

CERTAIN RISKS ARE INVOLVED in attempting to compress within brief limits an evaluation of peno-correctional philosophy in the past seventy-five years. One is bound to leave much unsaid; what is said may impart emphasis to relatively few aspects of that philosophy, de-emphasizing others equally impressive; and the scope of what occurred may seem to receive cavalier treatment.

As we look back reflectively, the fatal weakness of what has been done and left undone rests, in reality, in a calculated reliance upon the absence of a philosophy. To the extent that one existed, it resembled a cynical defeatism, signifying doom for the readily reclaimable offender, and especially for the deeply disturbed offender.

This phenomenon is not necessarily peculiar to the epoch under discussion. It has probably always been so. Nor are the criminal offenders of the past seventy-five years vastly different from those who offended centuries ago. They behaved as symptomatically then as they do today; their crimes were as specially and specifically motivated; the secret behind their offenses was just as deeply rooted and as uniquely personal, economically, socially, and psychologically.

Moreover, our emotional drive against the criminal offender remains substantially the same. We still hate the nonconforming in our midst, the insane and the criminal. But what impresses one most forcefully in a country which has bestowed on its people certain precious rights as individuals is the disquieting quality of indifference to individual needs that permeated and, in large part, still permeates American penology. Offenders become numbered parts of a machine; they are subordinated to the position of mere pawns in a monstrous conspiracy of primitive planlessness and a species of punitive tyranny.

There are those who, casting a critical eye on the events of the past seventy-five years, constantly remind us that in contrast with what went before, major improvements can be noted. I do not share

that view, even though here and there we pluck from the mosaic of monumental failure a fragment of progress in the form of experimentation with newer techniques. To be sure, the façade may now be presentable, but behind it still exists in larger measure than we publicly confess the core of man's un-understanding treatment of man. Amid the ceaseless clatter of platitudes, the instinctual impulse of the public is still to punish.

A strategic point at which to begin our excursion into the past is the Declaration of Principles adopted in 1870 by the newly organized American Prison Association. It was the product of men of good will. Through the convention which gave birth to this document it was hoped that a renaissance in penal philosophy would take place. To understand the correctional scene against which the Principles were formulated, suppose we glance hastily at the situation as it then affected adults and children.

For adults, the reformatory was just being contemplated as an instrument of correction. The congregate system, with its monotonous routine and brutal appurtenances, dominated the sterile philosophy of the Pennsylvania and Auburn systems of treatment, in the firm grasp of which most of the country was at the time. These institutions were milestones in American penology. Under the Pennsylvania system, made historically famous by the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia, the principle of separate confinement prevailed. Its basic tenet was the complete separation of prisoners one from the other. Thus immuring the prisoner, who was confined to his cell all the time (except for a brief spell of exercise), was conceived to be basically essential to his reformation; in the contemplative mood which loneliness is said to engender, an inmate could become suitably penitent. Permitting mingling with his fellow prisoners might result in additional contamination. Prompted primarily by the commendable impulse to end the shameful era of corporal punishment, they substituted separate confinement as a means to the reformative end. However, they soon found that the very corporal punishment they sought to avoid was resorted to in order to enforce discipline; for, in turn, discipline suffered as a result of the depressing effects of separate confinement.

The Auburn system was an almost simultaneous phenomenon. Its shining symbol was the prison erected at Auburn, New York, in 1816. Prisoners were permitted to work together in the shops during

the day under a strict rule of silence, as unrelaxed in its application as it was unnatural to enforce or expect its compliance. Some idea of the warm hospitality with which the Auburn system was received may be derived from the glowing defense of this approach to reformation which dripped sentimentally from the pens of contemporary writers.

As might have been anticipated by more realistic people than those to whom the task of penal reform was entrusted, for infractions of the rule of silence unbelievably sadistic practices were invented. There were stretching, the sweat-box, the klondike, the humming bird, thumbscrews, gags, water cures, and ingenious variations. The philosophy supporting this type of discipline followed the principle that at the bottom of recidivism is the "cross infection" of offenders by free communication with each other. The feeling that this was a sound doctrine was so strong that between 1831 and 1869 twenty-three state prisons based on the Auburn pattern were erected.

Because prisons were regarded as necessary luxuries, they were designed to be self-supporting. Industry was installed. Handicrafts were introduced into the lives of the inmates in the Pennsylvania system, chiefly because they lent themselves admirably to the solitary confinement of the inmates. The factory plan was introduced into the congregate workshop of the Auburn-type institution, because of the expediency of that method in dealing with large inmate populations.

However, the purpose was not to impart vocational education for its own sake, so as to enable a prisoner to emerge as a potentially self-supporting member of society. On the contrary, an ideal prison was one in which the inmates were profitably employed so that the public would be relieved of the necessity of supporting it financially.

In short, the overriding philosophy of penal treatment of adults was perfunctory custody, under the most rigidly punitive regime. The prevailing attitude toward the criminal offender was anchored in the doctrine of "free will." It was the vague concept of the will with which penologists were preoccupied, not the individual's capacity to exercise it; it was the offense, not the offender, upon which they concentrated. As a corollary, the more excruciating the pain of punishment, the greater it would exceed the pleasure that offenders were believed to derive from criminal behavior. This conviction harmonized with the deeply religious belief that punishment for the

sake of expiation constituted the surest means of reformation, just as it served the end of retribution.

As a benign extension of man's faith in the magic that punishment can produce, inmates were required to memorize passages from the Bible. There was the stubborn belief that since the offender has sinned, the most effective therapy for transforming him from a sinner to a contrite member of society would be to saturate him with religion. That the saturation point must have increased in direct ratio to the brutality which was practiced simultaneously was, we may be sure, something that never occurred to the penologists of the day.

Now, let us explore briefly early juvenile institutions, as they had developed by 1870.

The first institution designed to care for delinquents only was established in 1825, in New York City. Others soon followed. They were given the euphemistic names of "House of Refuge" or "House of Reformation." The galaxy of names by which they were known bore little relationship to the essential quality of the institutions themselves. Nor must we suppose that the transition in their names from "house," to "home," to "industrial school," to "reform school," to "training school," and finally to just plain "school," was necessarily correlated with their principles and methods. We must constantly remember that institutions in every era pursue those techniques of correction that cling closely to the currently popular concepts of antisocial behavior; in that era, it was that offenders were expressing a wilfully contemptuous attitude toward property and person.

What, then, was the correctional philosophy of juvenile institutions? Despite the warmth of language used to describe the institutions, they were little better than adult prisons, retaining the trappings of a punitive system both in architecture and administration.

Local laws were so severe that even homeless children were jailed. When children were charged with criminal behavior they were tried in criminal courts. Pending formal trials they were committed to jail, and in many states they still are. Indeterminate sentences were used when committing to a House of Refuge, though some judges considered a short term in a county jail to be of infinitely greater service to the child and community than a longer period in a child-care facility. This also is descriptive of the current thinking among many juvenile court judges.

In some places, what passed for systems of classification were installed. A typical system established three rough grades of children, whose privations or privileges depended upon the class into which they were poured. The first grade consisted of "those who are positively inclined to do wrong"; the second, "those who are positively and regularly inclined to do wrong"; and the third included "those who are positively, regularly, and continually inclined to do wrong." The almost total absence of the psychological disciplines from the correctional scene must have rendered even that crude variety of classification rather difficult.

The penalties which accompanied these classifications ran the whole gamut, from being deprived of play and conversation, to being deprived of food (except bread and water), being compelled to wear "bracelets," and being kept in "solitary." The rewards described a wide arc, ranging from being allowed to visit the city under guard to having one's birthday celebrated.

Labor was arduous, the working hours long, the schoolmaster unreasonably strict, the food unnourishing and unpalatable. Ingenious forms of activity were devised to render the inmates physically fatigued and, hence, more tractable. Since many children had first been sentenced to a penitentiary (where the discipline was vigorous), and later transferred to the children's institution, it was possible legally to retransfer the intractable to the penitentiary.

We may justifiably speculate on the quantum of "reformation" which was achieved, particularly in view of the conspicuous absence of any curiosity concerning the emotional drives and social needs of young people. The individualized, clinical approach to behavior problems was literally nonexistent.

The point has been reached at which we may return to the 1870 Declaration of Principles. It remains to examine what progress has been made in applying five of the most relevant of the original twenty-two Principles to the development of modern penology.

1. *Reformation, not vindictive suffering, should be the purpose of penal treatment.*—It is difficult to imagine a more patent contradiction in terms; for it is literally impossible to reform in a penal atmosphere, even though it may be called treatment. Although some of the public may now seem to embrace the socially desirable goal of reformation, most of it still nurtures the emotionally surcharged punitive goal. When these collide, the result is a disenchanted public.

Perhaps the very reason why, with some notable exceptions, substantial progress has not been made since 1870 resides in that contradiction. George Bernard Shaw put the matter in this wise: "To punish a man one must injure him; to reform him one must improve him." And you cannot improve through injury.

One of the earliest steps following the 1870 Declaration was the completion of the Elmira Reformatory in New York. I quote a lyrical excerpt from *The Handbook of the New York State Reformatory:* "The appearance of the Reformatory is stately and imposing; its principal buildings are ornate in their construction, their lofty spires and turrets taking on an added air of dignity because of the institution's elevated location . . ."

The aims of Elmira were as lofty as its "spires." The advent of the reformatory idea was intended as a significant advance over the Pennsylvania and Auburn systems. Introducing a limited, indeterminate sentence, what was called "reformation" was stressed rather than expiation or retribution. By 1933 twenty-three new reformatories were erected in as many states, patterned on the Elmira model.

The reformatory incorporated the following features: (*a*) it was intended to be limited to first offenders between sixteen and thirty; (*b*) it introduced a classification system; (*c*) it initiated "marks" based on earned credits arising out of good behavior, diligence in study, and results accomplished; and (*d*) it inaugurated a parole system based upon an accumulation of good marks.

The theory was commendable enough. Here again, however, the name was deceptive. It was not long before discriminating observers noted glaring defects in its actual practices. Reformation of the offender, which entails redirecting his behavior patterns, cannot be produced through repressive regimentation, even in buildings which are "ornate." Rather that process entails reckoning with every facet of the personality of the offender, and adjusting him to the environment to which he will ultimately be released. To the extent that this was largely overlooked in the administration of the average reformatory, it did not differ importantly from the prison and penitentiary.

Multiple offenders were soon received, mingling freely with first offenders. The Elmira system purported to impart "good habits of industry." The marking system was based exclusively on behavior and work habits within the walls, not upon the inmate's fitness for life in the social environment to which he would return. Conspicu-

ously lacking was the machinery for exploring the dynamics of the offender's behavior, to gain insight and to give the inmate insight into the impulses which launched him on a career of criminality, and to make those the determinants of a rehabilitative program.

Whatever the palpable shortcomings of the average reformatory, it did serve to high-light the need for clinical classification facilities. Since the early 1920s, tangible evidence has existed of the trend toward more scientific indexing of the offender in terms of his rehabilitative prospects. But this development still does not rescue modern penology on state levels from the morass of retrogression into which it has fallen. The vast abyss separating an attempt to estimate the individual inmate from versatile facilities for treatment based on differentiated diagnoses is still enormous. In this field progress is made with all the slowness of the glacier, but with none of its majesty.

On the other hand, the Federal Bureau of Prisons has taken some markedly progressive steps toward improving the tone of penology. Until 1930 the Federal prison system "was organized along traditional custodial and punitive industrial lines with some incidental 'special services.'" Upon the assumption of the directorship of the Bureau by Sanford Bates in 1930, a more enlightened objective was established, "one which sought treatment of criminal behavior based on a professional diagnosis." This has been carried forward by James V. Bennett, the present director.

The necessity for medium and maximum security provisions imposes severe limitations upon how much individual reconstruction can be conducted in the setting of congregate institutions having inmate populations ranging from 500 to more than twenty-two hundred. Nevertheless, much has been accomplished in the Federal chain of institutions since 1930. Mental and physical hygiene services and the development of diversified vocational and academic education geared closer than hitherto to the real needs of the offender are among the features of peno-correctional treatment which represent in the Federal system a healthy stride toward a philosophy of individualization gravely lacking elsewhere.

Beyond this attempt more closely to harmonize treatment with the recent findings of the social and psychological sciences, and the thinly scattered effort to make state prison life more endurable physically,

reformation as a pragmatic philosophy still eludes most people identified with criminal justice administration. The deterioration of the reformatory into a glorified prison and the frighteningly high rate of adult recidivism are ugly reminders of how pathetically retarded we are penologically.

Most institutions for delinquents are not yet converted to the principle of intensive casework. Though the indispensability of that approach has long been recognized, relatively few institutions have been conducting successful experimental demonstrations in that direction. The overwhelming majority of public and private institutions still extend monotonously routine protective sanctuary to children for limited periods. Another frustrating policy of private agencies is their high degree of selectivity. Many organizations accept only children of the same religious faith as that of their governing boards. Even so, most will reject children with severe behavior disorders, the mentally and physically handicapped, and sexual deviates. Other screening processes leave such enormous gaps in therapeutic services that courts and welfare departments are driven to the desperate extreme of abandoning carefully planned, potentially effective rehabilitative programs. That children thus untreated later blossom into untreatable adult offenders should not surprise us. What is shocking, however, is that the public still countenances this grotesque indifference.

2. *The prisoner must understand that his destiny is in his own hands.*—This principle perpetuates a mischievous branch of the philosophy of penology that has flourished ever since secular courts inherited the power to deal with antisocial behavior. We assume that by "destiny" is meant the fate the prisoner suffers in the institution. The principal criterion for determining whether the inmate would be subjected to disciplinary penalties, or enjoy institutional privileges and release prior to his maximum sentence, was and is his intramural behavior. His equipment to face the harsh realities of the free world is almost totally ignored.

Good behavior often is shrewdly managed by an experienced recidivist; he realizes that one of the conditions of early parole would be met by strict compliance with rigid institutional rules. However, there is a vital distinction between intramural deportment and extramural adjustment. The former is influenced, if at all, by the impact

of unrelaxed, external authority upon a criminal offender; the latter is influenced by the extent to which the prisoner's internal drives have been investigated and redirected.

For the younger prisoner, good behavior intramurally depends almost exclusively upon his previous social and psychological history. Borderline defectives and those suffering from mild disturbances are not benefited by the typically casual approach. If the inmate is assuredly defective or disordered, a naked shift from the free world to a controlled environment cannot evoke any substantial modification in his basic problem. The records of traditionally imprisoned psychopaths testify to the melancholy experience that prison wardens can have with seriously disturbed offenders.

Hence, to the extent that institutions remain perfunctorily custodial, implementing captivity with a disregard for the emotional turmoil of the prisoner, it is naïve to suppose that the destiny of such an inmate can long remain "in his own hands." A philosophy of correction which proceeds upon that notion is unworkable even as a crude *modus vivendi* for institutional management. And, as the vast majority of penal and correctional institutions still pursue this negative doctrine, little noteworthy progress toward helping the prisoner in shaping his destiny can be reported since 1870.

3. *Prison reform is frustrated by prison officials who are not trained.*—Prior to 1863, except for occasional visits by interested voluntary agencies, penal and correctional institutions were, for all practical purposes, without supervision. By 1870 many institutions had come under the general supervisory power of what were tantamount to prison boards.

Such was the cynical position taken in respect to prisons that, prior to 1870, the spoils system prevailed there too. Most institutions were operated largely in the interest of an ill-assorted miscellany of unequipped job hunters and those who benefited financially by the manipulation of prison industries. Nor was this selectivity confined to institutions for adults. In the houses of refuge staffs were similarly chosen, with a hideous disregard for the training essential to dealing with disturbed children. And in the jail one found the largest source of political graft.

Since 1870 the quality of correctional personnel in most states has undergone some changes. Recognition has been given to the fact that personnel is of paramount importance, much more so than

physical plant; that people who have direct contact with prisoners should be required to meet high standards in intelligence, personality, character, and education. Emphasis is being given to the training of newly appointed personnel, and to their orientation in the skills requisite to the unique function they are called upon to perform.

But the improvements in standards still leave uncommonly large gaps. Wage scales are still maintained at a level so absurdly low as to attract only the least competent or the most nobly sacrificial. A correctional philosophy means nothing unless it is expressed in the type of personnel employed for its realization. This is a truism in peno-correctional work, just as it is in government and business. When a public servant's constituents regard him as unfit to bring their philosophy of government to fruition, there is a tendency to unseat him. When the stockholders of a corporation are convinced that the officers are pursuing policies incompatible with the stockholders' interests, they hold their officers to strict accountability. By the same token, the public's tolerance of unqualified personnel in so many correctional institutions is attributable to its unarticulated, but nevertheless tacit, approval of the manner in which its ambiguous peno-correctional philosophy is being carried out. Albert Deutsch recently published a trenchant exposé of appalling conditions in many institutions for delinquent children throughout the country, delineating the callous physical cruelty inflicted at the hands of personnel whose philosophy of correction follows the doctrine that those children will behave extramurally who have been rendered insensible intramurally.

In some institutions for adults cruelty is no less prevalent. Some states still use sweat-boxes, chains and bracelets; solitary confinement is still commonplace; flogging is resorted to in at least seventeen prisons in twelve states. As an expression of an attitude toward their efficacy as a means to reformation, these devices bear a startling resemblance to what preceded them. Many recall vividly the Holmesburg incident only ten years ago, in which four convicts died after the "heat treatment" had been applied. Nor are we so jaded that we can recall without a shudder the name of John Emberg, the youngster who was brutally killed by his fellow prisoners in a Seattle jail in 1946, while awaiting hearing on a trivial charge. His death was directly traceable to the tolerance of a vicious kangaroo court system, time honored as a device for maintaining administrative peace.

These and countless other incidents stand as a sharp rebuke to those who claim that newer methods of correction are more humane, hence more effective. They are only slightly less cruel. They will become more effective when—and only when—they are entrusted to people more dedicated than is customary to the difficult mission on which they have embarked.

4. *Indeterminate sentences should be substituted for fixed sentences.*—When indeterminate sentences were first urged in the eighteenth century, their advocates had in mind primarily the permanent incarceration of adult recidivists. By 1870 the concept of indeterminate sentences had taken on a somewhat different color, namely, the release of the offender at such time as something obscure, called his "moral regeneration," came about. Soon after the Declaration of Principles various versions of the indeterminate sentence idea were wrought into legislative enactments. While many such statutes fixed no sentencing minimum, they did establish maximum terms which were thought to be safeguards against the exercise of oligarchic power by prison officialdom.

Actually, most of these statutory innovations took the form of parole legislation, providing for discretionary releases at any time after a prisoner became eligible. Eligibility generally occurred after the prisoner had served a minimum term, or was established after the prisoner's term began. In practically all juvenile institutions a qualified indeterminateness now prevails, the offender's twenty-first birthday being the maximum point of institutionalization.

In the intervening period since experimentation began with indeterminate sentences, agitation for the original concept of making them truly indeterminate has been revived. Having no fixed minimum or maximum, the criteria for an offender's release would be his preparation, vocationally, socially, and psychologically, to resume life in a free world, and of course the community's preparation to receive him.

This proposal makes much sense. None of the criminological disciplines is an exact science. They aspire to exactness, but the very fact that they are concerned with the perplexities of predisposing and precipitating factors which engulf the offender and contribute to crime militates against anything resembling precise predictability of treatment in terms of its duration. Many inmates are ready for re-

lease long before the expiration of their fixed minimum terms; a system so inflexible that it retains inmates in captivity beyond the point of readiness for release is one which invites inevitable parole failure. Other inmates are not prepared even at the expiration of their maximum terms; a system which nevertheless requires their release at that arbitrarily established date insures postinstitutional failure.

If the exact behavior sciences cannot fairly predetermine the period during which an offender will become socially adjusted, then it is impossible for a court to do so. Such dispositions are comparable to the somewhat fantastically improbable physician who, following a diagnosis of tuberculosis, admonishes his patient that he will be hospitalized for not less than six months nor more than two years. In neither situation, considering the host of imponderables, is prediction desirable, advisable, or scientifically possible.

Yet, though truly indeterminate sentences have long been considered, they are nowhere in vogue. One objection, namely, that they are risky because offenders would be exposed to the unequaled tyranny of untrained or corrupt or politically minded parole boards, is answered simply: eliminate politics from parole, rid the penal and correctional system of corruption, and train superior personnel.

5. *Prisons should be small, and separate institutions should exist for different types of offender.*—With few exceptions, penal and correctional institutions now have larger populations than at any other time in their history. Populations in institutions for children range up to 500; for adults, up to 6,000. The trend has been toward larger rather than smaller units. Segregation of offenders on the basis of differentials in traits and characteristics exists but rarely.

Yet, hope is justified that this trend may before long be reversed, and the 1870 principle be realized. Doubtless, the brightest development in the past seventy-five years, the Youth Correction Authority plan is a romantic interlude in American penology. The prospects for its ever widening beneficial influence can be greater than that anticipated in the creation of the Elmira type of reformatories.

A coalition of the best features of current penology and the sociological and psychological disciplines, the plan represents an achievement of incalculable dimension, in the direction of individualization of treatment. Concentrating on the younger age groups, it translates

into practice the postulate that the most fruitful area of treatment is with those offenders whose behavior patterns have not become irretrievably fixed.

The first state to undertake a modified version of the plan was California, in 1940, under the singularly progressive direction of Karl Holton. Minnesota and Wisconsin have recently adopted the plan. Juvenile and criminal courts, at their discretion, commit youthful offenders to the Authority, rather than to specific institutions. One day, what is now discretionary may become mandatory. The California Authority has established a diagnostic reception center, at which psychiatric, psychological, and vocational guidance services are utilized to fashion different forms of correctional treatment based exclusively on the economic, social, and psychological factors in each individual offender's history.

Moreover, the Authority has the power to establish appropriately diversified treatment units (farms, hostels, camps, schools), with small populations, to accommodate the various types of offender committed to it. It has the power to modify the form of correctional treatment from time to time. While not yet truly indeterminate, sentences to the Authority could readily become so if its administrators continue to inspire the confidence they have already deservedly earned. Recently that confidence was reflected in the extension of these principles to adult offenders.

Another significant feature of the plan has to do with the power to initiate or encourage crime-preventive activities on local community levels. This possesses the virtue of concentrating the attention of an otherwise indifferent public on the important youth-crime problem, and of shifting the public's preoccupation from the realm of rigid law enforcement.

The Authority plan, in its broadest aspects, symbolizes the embodiment of all that we know, or ought to know, in penology. It capitalizes those assets of the present system that are worthy of survival, and abolishes those liabilities of which we should have rid ourselves when their obsolescence first became manifest.

We are gradually becoming aware that a piecemeal attack upon the undeniably delicate problem of correction is ineffectual; nibbling at the edges never quite satisfies the appetite for progress. Though compromise has always been the controlling passion of penology, it is unlikely, in view of the fallacy upon which they were predicated, that the

tragic chapters of Auburn, Pennsylvania, and Elmira will be repeated. We must adopt the rule of complete individualization. What the late Justice Benjamin Nathan Cardozo once called the "disintegrating erosion of particular exceptions" cannot again be allowed to thwart the fuller development of our firm determination to deal constructively with the individual offender. This—and this alone—deserves the dignity of being described as a philosophy.

PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF DELINQUENCY AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

By Benedict S. Alper

IT IS INDEED AXIOMATIC that there are no problems that come about as a result of peoples living together that cannot be solved through joint action by men of good will. We do not know very much more about influencing human behavior today than we did seventy-five years ago, it is true. We have, however, adopted a dynamic approach toward conduct, we have moved from classification of the phenomenon to an attempt to understand our motivations, and, indeed, we have even discovered some tentative principles of psychodynamics which have therapeutic, even predictive, value. Still the lag which marks so many other social fields persists in our own, and we are, in many places, not seventy-five years, but several times seventy-five years behind in the application of our knowledge of human behavior.

The past three quarters of a century have seen much of value in the way of international interchange of ideas and experience in the field of criminology. Seventy-five years ago probation was a narrow concept, practiced tentatively in but a few jurisdictions of the United States. The juvenile court had not yet been conceived, and the child guidance movement was still to await the work of the thinkers and practitioners in dynamic psychiatry before the child guidance clinic could be adopted as a device for understanding and treating the behavior disorders of children.

These three concepts—probation, the juvenile court, the child guidance clinic—have done more than influence our thinking about, and our treatment of, the young offender. Their results are seen in the movement for adolescent courts, for raising the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction; they are penetrating the unrealistic barrier of twenty-one years which legally differentiates the adult from the adolescent, and they are having their influence on the handling of the adult offender, as well.

The origins of these things are to be found in the common law of Great Britain and in the pioneering work done in the clinics of Central Europe. It is important, I think, to stress our debt to other countries for the original ideas, which we consider to be indigenous to America, of which our practice is rather the culmination than the initial impetus.

Consider for a moment some of the current developments in other parts of the world in the field of crime prevention and treatment which should be better known, which have possibilities for application here in the United States, and should be of interest, as well, to other countries.

The Borstal reformatories of England, for young offenders up to twenty-three years of age, are by now familiar to many American workers. They have stood the test of the war, and the latest reports indicate that their number has been increased to cope with the increase in adolescent criminality. Their central idea is that there should be available to the sentencing authority a wide range of treatment stations, from the most open type to the traditional walled institution, to which, after examination and observation, the offender may be sent. There he may receive a variety of treatment—agricultural, shop and trade instruction, academic education, and help in the planning of leisure time. Each unit is small, and still further subdivided into house groups under interested masters. Parole is integrated into the program from sentence until at least a year after release. The Youth Authority Act of the American Law Institute benefited from an understanding of the fundamentals of the Borstal system: training schools for young offenders in California have incorporated some of its features into their programs.

According to present reports, England has made progress also in the extension of central control over the recruitment, training, and supervision of probation officers. A recent observer recounts that the British Government has taken the lead in the establishment of hostels—this time for the training of probation officers rather than probationers—where persons entering probation work live and study together during their course of preparation.

We have spoken briefly about the juvenile court as an American instrument, now almost in its fiftieth year, which has been adopted by almost every nation in the world. One group of countries, however, has never introduced this enlightened system, because for some

years previous to the birth of the juvenile court idea, they had themselves contrived a nonpunitive device for removing children from the criminal court process almost entirely. This is the child welfare council, as known in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

In general, these are committees set up in each town and rural area, consisting of interested citizens—ministers, doctors, teachers, welfare officers, nurses—whose occupations bring them in touch with the problems of children. The council initiates its own examinations into cases which come to its attention, and it also receives complaints from parents, police, schools, and welfare boards. After investigation, the council may issue any orders, in the interest of the child, which are in other countries handed down by the juvenile court "so that the public looks upon it rather as a helping than as an awe-inspiring and punitive institution." In effect, the child guardianship councils of Scandinavia have succeeded in removing the question of the treatment of children, even those who have committed what are in other places described as "criminal acts," from the scope of penal legislation and criminal procedure.

The Soviet Union has given to the world two ideas for the re-education of antisocial individuals which merit closer attention and greater application. The first is the scheme for re-educating boys who were rendered homeless after the first World War. All those who have seen the film *Wild Boys of the Road* will recall the effective fashion in which such children were gathered together and then retrained for a constructive life. Second are the colonies in which sentenced prisoners train for freedom in special settlements. Together with their wives and children they acquire new skills and relearn ways of living so that when they again go out into the world it is not as persons returning from artificial isolation, but as persons who can take up community living at the point where they left off.

Italy, among other countries, finds herself now with a large juvenile population who show in their attitudes and behavior the disorder which marks that country after five years of war and much upheaval. A magnificent Italian moving picture, *Shoeshine,* dramatically illustrates the impact upon these young boys of the traditional reformatory based on fear, physical cruelty, and the debasing of decent attributes and loyalties. No moving pictures have yet been taken, to my knowledge, of the *Villaggio del Fanciullo*—literally translated, "children's villages"—which have been organized in several places

in Italy, the best known, perhaps, at Civitavecchia, the port city northwest of Rome. This village, for more than two years now, has been caring for children between the ages of ten and sixteen, both boys and girls.

May I quote briefly from a report by the founder of this *villaggio:*

> It is not a prison, nor a concentration camp for children, nor a school; it is a community of free citizens. . . . The children come of their own free will to the village; they remain free as they were on the street. . . . The basis of the pedagogic system is to give the child personal responsibility. . . . We accepted the social conditions in which these children lived. The only thing they cared for was gain; they worked in gangs; they never went to school, but they knew life and they value everything in money. That is why all their activities in the village are remunerated, from morning to night; even their schoolwork is paid according to the marks they get. In the morning they go to school and in the afternoon to the workshops, where they are also paid. The mayor, the assistants, the judges, all are paid. On the other hand, the boys pay for their meals, their lodging, etc., with money coined in the village.[1]

I have quoted at some length from this report because I regard it as an interesting postwar attempt to re-educate young victims of the war in terms of their own standards at the point where they are first taken in for help. I am sure that all the countries which have suffered from the war would be able to learn much from this novel venture. It would be of value, I am sure, to know more about it, to evaluate it, and to interpret its program for the benefit of others.

The Latin American penal codes, following the influence of Lombroso and his school of criminal anthropology, contain within them some of the most advanced ideas to be found anywhere for the study and treatment of offenders on a clinical basis. They emphasize the role of "criminal anthropology" and the contribution to an understanding of offenders to be made by endocrinology and psychiatry. Many of their institutions for adults have connected with them criminological institutes for the examination of prisoners. Other countries can learn a great deal from Latin American experience with this clinical approach; from the realistic and highly humane practice obtaining in several Latin American countries which permits conjugal visits to confined men; from their statutory provisions for lay judges and women to sit on the children's court bench. These countries, in their

[1] Those who are interested in reading further about the *Villaggio del Fanciullo* of Civitavecchia are referred to the *International Child Welfare Review*, I, No. 2–3, 120–122, published by the International Union for Child Welfare, Geneva.

turn, are anxious to improve their practice, to apply many of the fine promises inherent in their penal codes, which, for lack of trained staff and technique, they are now unable to do.

I should like to describe, if space permitted, the psychiatric clinics and observation centers of Belgium, the hostels and open institutions of South Africa, all of which have much of value for other countries. But I think it is not necessary further to labor my point: The practice of preventing crime and treating offenders has reached its present stage of development as a result of the interchange of people and ideas. Ten years of war and disorganization have interrupted this normal flow. If we are to widen the horizons of our knowledge and improve our procedures, there must be much more such interchange, it must be organized, and it should be centered in some international organization. May I say at this point, that there is just such an organization and it is concerned with just such problems. It is located within the Department of Social Affairs, one of the great central departments of the United Nations.

Such an interest by an international peace organization is by no means new. The League of Nations, between 1932 and 1939, took an active interest in these matters, serving to bring together, for example, several international bodies with a direct or incidental interest in these questions. We find included the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission of Berne, the International Association of Penal Law of Paris, the Howard League for Penal Reform of London, the International Association of Children's Court Judges of Brussels, the International Union of Child Welfare of Geneva.

In May, 1932, seven such international organizations signed a joint memorandum in which they expressed their willingness to collaborate with the League of Nations in these matters. Out of this collaboration came many worth-while studies—an inquiry into juvenile courts, a report on the child welfare councils of Scandinavian countries, a survey of juvenile institutions, and a code of "Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners." This last was adopted by the League and communicated to all member governments. It was quite in the nature of things, therefore, for the General Assembly of the United Nations at its first meeting in London to take over from the League of Nations, among the so-called "nonpolitical" activities of that organization, responsibility for international action in the field of prevention of crime and treatment of offenders.

It is in order, to detail briefly what has happened since then. The Economic and Social Council referred the matter to the Temporary Social Commission, which recommended the establishment of a permanent Social Commission "to undertake, among other matters, consultations with the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission with a view to recommending . . . a scheme by which this whole subject can be fruitfully undertaken on a broad international basis in close association with other social problems."

At its first meeting in January, 1947, the permanent Social Commission was prevented from consulting with the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission because Franco Spain was a member of that body, and the General Assembly resolution of December, 1946, had banned any dealings by the United Nations with any organizations to which Franco Spain adhered. Spain has since withdrawn from membership in the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, and the outcome of the consultations between the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission is still being awaited.[2] The Social Commission is completing its deliberations, and it is fair to expect that the basis will indeed be firmly established for fruitfully undertaking work in this important international field, "in close association with other social problems."

The first international gathering of penologists met 102 years ago. As a result of the efforts of Dr. Enoch C. Wines, noted American prison reformer, subsequent meetings in Europe led to the establishment of the first international organization to improve penal treatment—one year before the first meeting of what was then known as the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. It is timely and useful to be reminded of these early beginnings, and to draw renewed confidence from the pioneering efforts made by a group of our predecessors who are long since dead, but whose ideas go marching on. We are told so often that the world has grown smaller in recent years. All too frequently this *cliché* is used to emphasize that in this shrinking it has somehow split in two. I prefer to think that as the world grows smaller, the opportunities increase to learn more from one another and about one another, to share our experiences, to avoid making the same mistakes, and to add to the general store of our common knowledge.

[2] April, 1948.

MILIEU AND GROUP TREATMENT FOR DELINQUENTS

By S. R. Slavson

DELINQUENT ACTS are committed for many reasons. One cannot attribute them to any one cause. A delinquent act may be a convenient way to retaliate for the wrong that parents, teachers, and society has committed against an individual. An act which may of itself incur punishment may be attractive to a person who is so guilt-laden that he neurotically invites punishment. Crime also serves to resolve the neurotic conflicts between aggressive hostility and prohibitions of the superego. Some boys who feel themselves inferior and inadequate, especially if they are unacceptable to aggressive groups in their neighborhoods, are likely to commit delinquent acts because they wish to convince themselves and others of their strength and power. Girls who feel that they are undesirable and unattractive may become sexual delinquents. The emotional deprivations from which such girls suffer cause them to enter these relations because of the status they represent and the girls' need for affection. One of the important dynamics that all who deal with so-called "delinquents" and "criminals" have observed, is the factor of masochistic and self-punishing satisfactions that punishment yields.

I have elsewhere reported a case of a twelve-year-old adopted boy who, despite the affluence of his foster parents, habitually stole, and employed the unique pattern of returning stolen goods to the stores. In doing this he wished to make certain of being caught and punished. When he was not successful in this, he stole valuables from his home and ran away. An investigation of the dynamics of this case revealed that the boy strove to invoke punishment for his incestuous impulses toward his foster mother and destructive drives toward her husband.[1]

An example of the cause of sexual delinquency is supplied by a particularly unattractive girl. Her mother only too frequently emphasized how disappointed she was by the girl's appearance. At a very

[1] S. R. Slavson, "An Elementaristic Approach to the Understanding and Treatment of Delinquency," *Nervous Child*, VI, No. 4 (October, 1947), 413–23.

early age she succumbed to the friendly attentions of the men in her neighborhood to assuage her craving for the warmth and affection denied by her family. The fact that she was an only girl in a family with many brothers may have added to her problem. She felt herself to be different from all the other siblings. She may have had also masculine strivings as an imitation of her brothers and combined with it feelings of worthlessness. All these factors, especially when they appear in combination, would find adequate resolutions in delinquent acts.

Another contributing factor frequently encountered, among delinquent boys especially, is such a common somatic deviation as small size and unusual or grotesque appearance. A boy of small stature is tempted to commit delinquent acts, especially with others who are usually older and larger in size. In doing so, he grows in stature in his own eyes and in those of his peers. He is thus compensated for his physical inadequacies and inferiorities. The frequency with which one finds such children among those who get into difficulties with the community is especially impressive and points to definite aims that institutional treatment must set for itself.

At eleven years of age Peter was arrested with a gang of older boys who were involved in stealing and other destructive acts in the neighborhood. The boy was one in a large family of rejecting and unsympathetic parents and siblings. He was of small stature and when he attached himself to the gang they found many uses for him. One was to act as a lookout; another was to climb through transoms. The status and acceptance he earned from his gang-mates compensated both for the neglect in the home and for being a misfit among his peers because of his size.

More serious constitutional and organic defects that manifest themselves in behavior symptoms must be clinically established before an individual is placed in an institution. Such conditions as epilepsy, epileptic equivalents, schizophrenia, and other psychotic states require appropriate medical and psychiatric hospital treatment, and placement of such patients in a re-educational institution or correctional school may be entirely contraindicated. It is of the utmost importance first to establish the dynamics and pathology, medically and psychologically, of each so-called "delinquent" before appropriate treatment is planned.

Where delinquent behavior is prompted by a youngster's psycho-

pathic personality structure, placement in an institution is essential. Because the psychopath is unable to establish the type of relation with an individual therapist that is necessary in psychotherapy, restraints such as one finds in an institution are likely to be more effective. Control here must be consistent.

It is necessary to bring home to such youngsters the fact that they cannot continue in their exploitative, narcissistic way of life. Pressures and limitations must be great enough to arouse the latent anxiety which is at the bottom of the psychopath's character even though he repressed it so thoroughly and successfully. He must not be allowed to evade these or to get from under them. The psychopath's basic anxiety, deeply repressed and overlaid as it is by suavity and evasiveness, can be reached only by equally strict pressures and threats to his security. The aim is to force the resident of the institution to seek help from someone, preferably an adequately trained and understanding staff member. Such a relation should be utilized to help the youngster to evolve a new conception of people and of his need of them. If he can attach himself to someone who would become the substitute parent, as it were, toward whom he can *ab novo* establish a relationship that he had missed during his childhood, he is well on the road to changing his character structure. As I have indicated, the person to whom such a child or adolescent turns for support should be a psychotherapist skilled in dealing with this type of problem; for the psychopath is not above hoodwinking the one who attempts to help him.

Having outlined rather sketchily some of the basic considerations in the psychodynamics of delinquency, we can turn to the main topics of this paper, namely, a consideration of the environmental setting and the direct use of groups in the treatment of so-called "delinquents." It is necessary first, however, to make clear in our minds the aims and objectives of placing children in institutions or, better still, removing them from their homes and community. The factor of retribution and punishment no longer motivates us here. We also have found, by bitter experience and at great cost to our communities, that brutalizing and mistreating the delinquent and criminal are entirely ineffective in rehabilitative efforts. Our aims are rather therapeutic and re-educational.

What are some of the means that we can employ? First is the removal of the child from the influences of his environment, such as

the home, school, and social group; secondly, exposing him to a more wholesome environment of corrective relations and experiences; and, thirdly, planful re-educative and clinical work in a conditioned environment. To do this, our school community must be so planned that aggressive and retaliatory acts would no longer serve the individual's needs for recognition and acceptance. While the resident may still tend to displace his feelings upon the people in the new environment, if he is treated with sympathy and understanding he soon realizes the ineffectiveness of this procedure. Especially is this easily accomplished where individual casework is part of the treatment. He becomes aware of the difference between the real objects of his hostility and the displacement pattern he employs. Because of this realization he alters his perception that all people are hostile, and he grows more accessible to the influences of the re-educational atmosphere of the institution. He can also accept direct psychotherapy with more profit. The resistances and defenses he had built up toward people and the world are, as a result, relaxed, and he becomes accessible to the influence of his new *milieu*. To help the delinquent become thus more pliable is one of the main tasks of institutional treatment.

An institution is primarily a conditional environment, not a controlled environment. The contrast of these two concepts seems evident on the surface. Control is only a part of the picture, and at best must be used with discrimination. "Conditioning of an environment means that it is organized and set so as to include the elements and relations that would prove salutary to the needs of residents or inmates. It is conditioned in the same sense that a hospital for medical patients is: the total environment—and not only the medication—is designed to help the patient to conquer his malady." [2]

I come here to a factor in the setting of a corrective atmosphere which I have emphasized many times and in many connections in the past. This is the basic attitudes and personalities of the staff. Genuine interest in, and sympathy for, young people is most essential. Training, intellectual comprehension, and academic knowledge are futile without them. The love and understanding that were denied to the dissocial child, which is the cause of his dissociality, must be supplied in the new *milieu*. Other important elements are harmony and coöperation among the staff, their respect for one another, and

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 418.

their loyalty to the institution. These elements in human relations have always been lacking in the lives of delinquents, and these they must find in the new environment. In discussing this subject elsewhere, I have said:

> Hostility, dissatisfaction, indifference, gossip—any such manifestations—serve to confirm and justify the child's own hostile acts and attitudes by identification and implied sanction. Tensions and disharmony among the staff create the same anxiety as that set up through the child's intrafamilial conflicts. He should not be transplanted into an environment which contains the very elements that caused his difficulties. It should rather have a corrective effect. The institution, and especially the cottage unit, is in a real sense the substitute for a family . . .[3]

A child whose primary relations in infancy and childhood had been defective must find corrective relations in treatment, that is, positive transferences and constructive identifications. We found in group treatment that adolescent girls in an institution transfer to the institution the feelings which they have toward their mothers. Both restrain and prohibit; both deny pleasures, especially sexual gratifications. Hostilities toward both are, therefore, in many ways similar. On the other hand, their attitudes toward the male director are similar to those they had toward their fathers.

Despite our emphasis upon understanding, sympathy, and permissiveness, restraint and control as well as guidance are the functions of the institution. It must serve as a training group for self-control and social responsibility. This can be accomplished best through group action, through identification with staff members, and, to a lesser extent, by means of rules and direct control.

A re-educative *milieu* must primarily create an emotional setting that would undo the destructive feelings and attitudes engendered by an unsatisfactory childhood. But re-education as a technique needs to turn attention to desirable changes in motor, intellectual, and social functions of the individual as well. Its social realities must as far as possible parallel those of the outside world and its culture. The chief educative instrumentalities in our culture are the home, the school, individual hobbies, group recreation, and religion. The institution, too, needs to be planned to supply these.

The intimate relations that arise in the cottage unit have many elements of the family pattern, and the relations here should be pat-

[3] *Ibid.*

terned after a good family. The proper choice of adequate cottage parents or supervisors is at once most important and most difficult. Academic schooling for the delinquent is a requisite, but academic schools in institutions must be tolerant, flexible, and free of the sadistic drives that characterize the ordinary classroom. Teachers must accept hyperactivity, distractability, and low achievement as symptoms of emotional illness rather than as challenges to their authority. Nearly all children committed to institutions are school problems, and it would not do to re-emphasize their failures and shortcomings. Teachers in schools of dissocial children must accept their part in the total therapeutic setting of the institution; for they can, through their dictatorial attitude, undo the clinical treatment and the good work of other members of the staff.

School requirements must be subordinated to the real interests of the residents. Academic achievement under these circumstances is secondary to changes in emotional and social attitudes. This does not mean that children and young people should be permitted to vegetate or live an effortless life. They must be activated, and this can be done without arousing hostility and resentment. We should not hold over their heads the fear of failure by applying standardized marks and grades. The aim should rather be the building of self-confidence and self-esteem. Individualization and true interests are far better to motivate learning than pressure and fear.

Solitary and group recreation are to be considered an integral part of the therapy. My own experience with young people in correctional institutions has convinced me that the incidence of talented and superior children is much greater among them than in the general community. They are gifted in the graphic and plastic arts, in music, the drama, dancing, creative writing. Physical recreation, such as sports and games, is of course, important.

The larger community in our culture provides many outlets in group association which should also be available in institutional living. Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops, Junior Achievement, Youth Builders, free association and special interest groups need to be incorporated into the institutional culture. Experience in these groups helps prepare the youngsters for the time when they return to the normal community. Mass activities, such as dances, outings, picnics, and theatricals are also essential, and interests in larger community concerns, such as the Red Cross, charitable, church, and philan-

thropic enterprises, should be part of leisure-time activities. Through these means continuity is maintained between the life in the institution and the larger culture to which the residents will return.

This should be one of the chief aims in conditioning the institutional environment, namely, its continuity and relatedness to the best in the culture from which the young people have been removed and to which they will eventually return. Too great a break with the culture and home environment, which is characteristic of prisons, is not only punitive in its intent, but destructive of those elements in the personality which we attempt to encourage and develop in order to make the residents suitable members of society.

Turning attention from the *milieu* and considering direct group treatment for delinquents in institutions we are confronted with some real problems. To begin with, it is axiomatic that activity group therapy where acting out is the sole method of treatment is, on theoretical grounds at least, unsuitable for institutions. This technique has never been tried in an institutional setting, but one can envisage the disadvantages in its use. Free, unimpeded acting out among children is contagious and tends to be intensified. When it becomes widespread it may well prove disastrous. The minimal controls essential to group living and restraint cannot be relaxed without the risk of serious disorganization in the school community. In addition, there is the factor of choice that would present difficulties. Some who are chosen for such "free" groups would consider themselves stigmatized, others would view themselves as privileged; all who are eliminated would be resentful. There would arise the problem of social castes, an unequalitarian treatment—a fact that would intensify hostility and resentment.

In only one instance was interview group psychotherapy employed in an institution with adolescent girls. This was in the Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School of the Jewish Board of Guardians.

In an institution for "delinquent" girls group therapy presents problems that are not ordinarily encountered in an out-patient clinic, where the patients are not acquainted with, and have no contact with, one another except at group sessions. Catharsis was blocked in the institutional groups because the girls were afraid to make their problems known to the community. The fact that the girls lived on the same campus created difficulties. The presence of adolescent boys on the same or a near-by campus and the free social contact with them

intensified the girls' fears in this regard, since their past "reputations" may have defeated their natural need to be accepted and to have boy friends. Such difficulties are not encountered in a large city clinic or hospital, but it may be expected that similar difficulties may arise in small towns where patients know each other in the community. Therapy groups need to be kept quite apart from the ordinary social groupings.

Members of therapy groups in an institution display a remarkable unanimity in their common hostility toward the school, the staff, and, especially, the director. This facilitates conversation, since all have the same target of hostility and the same reasons for discontent which accelerates identification, though it is only in a limited area. Hostility is freely expressed, and its expression is initiated much earlier than in city groups. Because of this, the girls were, according to the group therapist (who had treated some of the girls also individually), much more productive in the group than in individual treatment.

The early interviews consisted almost entirely of complaints and charges against the staff and the institution. Involuntary sequestration from the natural community and one's family mobilizes hostility and aggression toward the institution. The difficulty is that there are always realistic grounds for dissatisfaction that give validity to the feeling of wrongs and discriminations. Patients vent these dissatisfactions upon the group therapist, and since negative transference tends to be intensified because of the high degree of identification, the therapist may at times be hard pressed. It requires greater skill and experience to conduct interview groups in a "restraining" institution than in a voluntary out-patient clinic.

Among difficulties one encounters in the practice of interview group therapy are the inevitable contacts that the patients and the therapist have with each other at times other than the regularly set sessions and the fact that the patients find it difficult to disassociate the therapist from the restraining and sometimes punishing role of the other members of the staff. This situation greatly complicates the transference relation, mobilizes its negative aspects, intensifies and prolongs resistance. Another difficulty is the aforementioned one of choice of members of the special group from which others are barred. These difficulties, however, are encountered early in treatment and soon disappear as the patients become accustomed to the existence of groups.

In the beginning, suspiciousness makes the residents resistive to attending group sessions. If the therapist were to remain passive and impersonal, few, if any residents, would avail themselves of the groups. The therapist has to overcome the initial resistance by convincing the group members of his interest in them. Since attendance must be voluntary, one cannot exert administrative pressures to make children come to these groups. However, after the initial resistances are overcome, there is universal enthusiasm for the groups, and there is no problem with regard to attendance.

Experience shows that group psychotherapy on an interview basis, or group analysis, is most beneficial in institutions for adolescents. Many who are unable to participate in, or benefit from, individual psychotherapy have made striking progress through the group sessions. Stubbornly resistive and especially hostile and recalcitrant youngsters grow more reasonable and communicative, and are able to recognize and accept their part in the plight in which they find themselves. For some of the adolescent girls exclusive group treatment was sufficient to meet their needs, others continued with individual interviews, while a number who steadfastly refused to accept individual therapy changed in this regard and fully participated in it, as well as in group discussions.

INCOME SECURITY FOR THE AGED

By Eveline M. Burns

To AN INCREASING DEGREE Americans are becoming uneasily aware of the fact that theirs is an aging population. Whereas in 1850 persons sixty-five and over constituted only 2.6 percent of the total population, they had increased by 1900 to 4.1 percent, by 1940 to 6.8 percent, and the trend is upward. It is estimated that by 1960, 9.1 percent of the American people will be sixty-five or over, and by 2000, the estimate runs, as high as 13.2 percent. This situation raises important economic problems. To the extent that capacity to participate in production declines with advancing years, it means that a smaller proportion of our manpower is available to add to the sum total of goods and services on which the economic welfare and the high standard of living of the country ultimately depend. And because in our kind of society the individual's power to consume depends upon the extent of his contribution to production, the aging of the population presents us with an acute problem of devising some alternative source of income for an increasingly large proportion of the population. Estimates made in 1945 indicate that almost 52 percent of those sixty-five and over were economically independent in the sense that their most significant source of income was derived from participation in the labor market or from savings or deferred pay in the form of private pensions, but that about 48 percent were dependent, deriving income from public security measures or from relatives and other private sources.

What would a highly intelligent and rational people do when faced with such a development? I suggest that they would consider the problem from two angles: First, they would ask whether it is inevitable that persons over sixty-five have to be written off as contributors to production and whether, if this is not inevitable, it is desirable to encourage or to discourage the aged from further participation in production. Secondly, if they felt that for a substantial proportion of the aged group productive activity would increasingly become limited and finally impossible, they would ask themselves what is the most appropriate kind of provision to be made for the income security of

a group which is going to be numbered in the the millions and at what standard of living are they to be supported.

We must never forget the extent to which our total national income is dependent upon the numbers of people who are actively at work. About three fifths of the tremendous increase in the dollar value of our national output between 1940 and 1944 was due to our employment of additional workers (who also worked longer hours). The failure to make use of the labor power of so many millions of aged people, who, however, will be helping to consume whatever is produced by the remainder, is therefore of some consequence. It is sometimes said that this increase in the relatively nonproductive age group is, in large measure, balanced by the decline in the young who are also, in general, a nonproductive segment of the total population. It is indeed true that the under-twenty age group, which represented 52.5 percent of our people in 1850, had fallen to 34.5 percent by 1940 and by the year 2000 will account for only 25.7 percent. In other words, the proportion of the population in what we normally regard as the productive years has even increased over the last 100 years, rising from 44.9 percent in 1850 to 58.7 percent in 1940, and it is expected to rise to 61.1 percent by 2000. But this gives too optimistic a view, for in the early years a very large proportion of the group from ten to nineteen was at work; in the meantime we have almost completely eliminated child labor, while the increase in years of attendance at school and the extension of higher education have greatly cut down the labor supply which was once contributed by this younger group. Thus I do not think we can regard with complacency the loss to the labor market represented by this growing and large proportion of aged persons.

Quite apart from purely economic considerations, I suggest that a rational society would feel that it was desirable to have as large a proportion of the aged at work as possible because of the effect upon the individuals themselves. All the evidence seems to show that the aged feel very acutely their enforced retirement from participation in the ordinary routine of working life. They are happier and better adjusted human beings if, when they desire to continue working, they are able to do so, and, other things being equal, a rational society would probably seek to make it possible for them to continue as useful and productive members of society.

Social security programs can operate either to encourage or to

discourage labor market participation on the part of the aged. When we write into our old age insurance programs a provision denying benefits to persons who earn more than a specified sum we are, in fact, aiming to encourage retirement. Note that I say "aiming," for it must be confessed that we have not behaved like a rational people in the implementation of our objective. We have offered a benefit so low in relation to any conceivable minimum living standard, that unless the individual possesses considerable private resources, it will not be possible for him to retire. It is significant that at the present time almost a million people who are entitled to Old Age and Survivors Insurance benefits have refrained from claiming them.

I am, however, much more concerned with challenging the whole theory of putting inducements to retire into an OASI program than drawing attention to the fact that we have not been very intelligent in the way we have attempted to operate an inducement system. For I suggest that an intelligent and rational people would not put such inducements into its old age insurance program at all. When we passed the Social Security Act we were in the midst of a depression and convinced that there was but a limited demand for labor. We hoped to provide jobs for the young by getting the old out of the labor market. I suggest that when we consider the statistics I have presented and the effect upon the aged themselves, we should abandon this policy in its entirety. It is significant that many other countries which have reached this population development somewhat earlier than America are considering ways and means of writing into their social security systems inducements to continue working. Thus the British provide that for every six months a man continues working after the age of sixty-five, his pension, when he does claim it, will be increased by one shilling a week. Furthermore, if it is felt that for reasons of economy it is undesirable to pay full pensions to people who are earning full, normal wages, it is still possible to effect a compromise between the interests of the taxpayer and of the insured worker without destroying the incentive to continue working, by adopting a more flexible arrangement which we have not yet been prepared to envisage. Such an arrangement would provide for a fixed sum which could be earned with no effects upon the right to draw the full retirement benefit (and, in passing, it would need to be much higher than the miserable fifteen dollars monthly now set in the Social Security Act) and that for every so many dollars earned above that sum the benefit

would decrease by a stated amount until at a certain point no benefit at all would be payable.

Turning now to the problem of income security, what would an intelligent society do? First of all, of course, a decision would have to be made as to whether or not general public provision is to be made and for what age groups. I suggest that however great the efforts we make to enable and to encourage the aged to continue working, a very significant proportion of them will for the foreseeable future be unable to work after reaching age sixty-five and that for the 3,250,000 who even now are seventy-five and over it is evident that it is unrealistic to expect work to provide their source of income. Since we do not know which members of the group are likely to be able to continue working, it is evident that we have to make some provision for the group as a whole. Two questions then face us: In what form shall that provision be made, and what level of income are we to assure these people?

We can choose between two alternatives: social insurance and public assistance. From the viewpoint of the potential recipient, social insurance appears greatly to be preferred, and it is important that we should be very clear as to the reasons for this preference. Essentially, it derives from three characteristics of this type of social security. First, it involves no necessity to undergo a means test or to come in contact with an institution, namely, public assistance, that despite our best efforts is still regarded with distaste by the vast mass of our clients. Secondly, social insurance has the advantage of being predictable: a man can work out for himself how much income he can expect and can plan his budgeting in the light of this knowledge. Thirdly, and of great importance, social insurance frees him from dependence on official discretion. Disputes as to his rights turn on matters of fact by reference to standards and criteria precisely and definitely laid down in the law. It is these characteristics which give to the concept of "the right" to social insurance a reality that can never inhere in public assistance however elaborately protected the rights of appeal.

At the same time, we have to recognize that social insurance may be a more costly program from the point of view of the rest of the community. If the benefits are to be sufficient to provide a minimum standard for the vast majority of recipients without necessity of recourse to supplementation from public assistance, the bill will be

larger than when assistance is given only on the basis, and to the extent, of demonstrated need. If the program is to cover all segments of the population it will be quite impossible for the lower income groups to pay a significant share of the cost of their own benefits by previous contributions, and some public subsidy will be inevitable. It is not surprising, therefore, that most societies have felt themselves unable to make the social insurance form of social security available to all their people. They have adopted various limitations, some of which make more sense than others. They have limited the right to benefit to persons who have contributed for a certain period of time. They have brought in everybody, or almost everybody, but have adjusted the benefit to the previous income or contributions of the recipients or have paid uniform benefits of so low an amount that a larger or smaller proportion of beneficiaries have to seek supplementary income from public assistance, thereby, in part, sacrificing the main advantage of this form of security, from the recipients' point of view, as well as saddling the community with a duplicating administrative system.

The question of the extent to which the social insurance type of income maintenance shall be utilized cannot, however, be divorced from the related question of the standard of living which it is desired to assure the aged; for under a social insurance system the benefits of all will be fixed by uniform rules, whether the formula relates benefits to past earnings or provides for a uniform sum varying only with such identifiable characteristics as age or sex.

Although we started in 1935 with the idea that benefits should be related to previous earnings we were forced from the first to qualify this principle in two ways. In fact, we weighted the benefit formula in favor of the lower paid worker and we imposed minimum and maximum monthly benefit limits. This made sense in a social insurance program whose object, we must never forget, is to deal in a large-scale manner with a major problem of personal economic insecurity; for a strict adjustment of benefits to earnings would have meant that the system would have given the least significant income security to the very groups who were likely to need it most, and unless we had departed from strict proportionality we should have faced a much greater degree of supplementation of insurance benefit by assistance than we have so far experienced. Yet even here we were not entirely intelligent, for we fixed our minimum at a ridiculously low

sum which bore no possible relation to minimum living costs, and even the proposals of the Social Security Administration to the Senate Advisory Committee for a minimum benefit of twenty dollars equally fail to recognize that the major purpose of instituting an old age insurance program is to provide income security for the aged. Such a low dollar minimum is little more than an adjustment to the price increases since 1935; it in no way meets the complete inadequacy and, indeed, meaninglessness of the original sum. Its inadequacy will become even more apparent if and when the Social Security Act is amended to include such low-paid groups as agricultural workers and other marginal workers now excluded for whom the presumption of significant supplementary savings is unrealistic.

The upper benefit limit also makes sense in principle in a public social insurance program. We must never forget that the use of compulsion on people to set aside income for specific purposes must always be kept within the narrowest limits consistent with the general interest. A case can be made for forcing everybody to lay aside from current earnings a sum sufficient to finance or help finance a modest minimum retirement income; for the problem of income security is a troublesome one for any nation, and the people are justified in taking measures through their government which will enable them to deal with it in the simplest possible manner, such as by adoption of the social insurance technique. Nevertheless, the primary purpose should at all times be borne in mind, and after this modest competence has been assured I believe it would be hard to justify forcing people, in effect, to provide for any greater degree of income security in this specific form, namely, a cash government benefit. Beyond this limit, it would seem more in keeping with our American ideals to allow the individual freedom, if he wishes to enjoy a higher standard than this modest benefit, to provide for it to the extent and in the form that he wishes.

Whether or not we retain the principle of differential benefits, therefore, awareness of the social purpose and social justification of an old age insurance system suggest that the range of variation cannot be very wide if we are to have a minimum benefit which, for the vast majority covered, avoids the necessity of seeking supplementation from some other public security program, and a maximum benefit which leaves individuals free to secure a higher standard of living in old age by voluntary action. I am increasingly coming to believe that

the only really satisfactory system is one which would provide for a uniform benefit roughly related to the cost of a modest minimum living standard, but which might vary in money terms with degree of urbanization (apparently the major fact causing significant differences in costs of living).

Adoption of such a policy would bring us continually face to face with the essentials of policy, namely, what minimum standard of living do we regard as appropriate for this important segment of the population? On the one hand, the lower limit is set by the necessity realistically to meet the challenge of income insecurity—the sum must assure a standard at least as high as we are prepared to assure those who make a claim for maintenance under the alternative public assistance system. On the other hand, we must remember always that if persons who are not producing continue to enjoy income, their consumption is inevitably drawn from the current output of the year in question and is, in this way, at the expense of the rest of the community. We should remember this fact when we lightly contemplate providing generous retirement benefits for a group which will number some twenty to twenty-two millions by the end of this century. If we wish the aged to enjoy a higher standard of living than they now do without lowering the future standard of living of the younger groups below what our current standard now is, we can achieve this result only by taking action now to assure that national productivity in those future years will be higher than it otherwise would be. This is a sobering thought, for it means that we ought logically today to give up more of our current consumer income to increase the capital or research resources of the country or to improve the health or education of the people—the producers of tomorrow.

In broad economic terms, adoption of this benefit policy is no more than a public acceptance of the fact that the community is prepared to allow its aged to continue to exist even though they no longer contribute to production. The justification for making such a standard available through a social insurance system runs in terms of technical convenience. There is no other way of meeting both the social problem and also the desire of the mass of people for a form of security that does not involve recourse to a disliked public assistance system. Yet since it is unrealistic to expect that each individual can contribute the full costs of this minimum security from his own earnings, subsidies from the upper income groups become inevitable, and it may

be felt essential to restrict this favored form of security to those who have at least contributed according to their ability and for a substantial period of time. This is the justification for the contributory eligibility requirements, and the more generous the benefit the more strict these requirements should be, for the element of subsidy will be greater.

Even if the social insurance provisions were to be changed in some such direction as I have indicated there would thus still be many hundreds of thousands, and indeed for some years even millions, of people for whom old age insurance benefits would not provide a solution of the income maintenance problem. There would always be some unable to satisfy the earnings or other eligibility qualifications (especially numerous in the early years of social insurance programs, or after major extensions of coverage), and there would be those for whom the fixed or standard benefit would prove insufficient. In any case, until OASI is considerably extended in coverage, the numbers seeking some other form of socially provided income will be very large. Twelve years after passage of the Social Security Act the numbers receiving old age assistance are larger than those drawing OASI benefits. We should ask ourselves whether, since these numbers are so large, more than two million, the kind of social security they now "enjoy" is the best we can do for them. I suggest that it is not.

When we decided to isolate certain sections of the population for special or categorical social security treatment one might have assumed that there was some rational reason for selecting the groups concerned. Certainly the characteristics of the aged are unique from the point of view of social security planning. On the one hand, they are a group whose dependence on socially provided income is likely to be long continued and fairly predictable. This fact not only has a bearing on the type of provision it is desirable to make for such people, but also it enables the community more precisely to estimate costs. On the other hand, they are people who by definition either physically could not, or socially should not, participate in production. Hence one problem that always plagues the planners of social security systems, namely, the possibly adverse effect of benefit payments on the incentive to work, does not arise. I suggest that an impartial observer, assuming we are a rational people, would expect that these differences would somehow be reflected in the form of security we make available to these people. Presumably, for such groups it would be more pos-

sible to make a payment that more adequately met minimum living needs, and the cash income would be made available to them in a form that, being dependable and of predictable amount, would enable them to go about their business of everyday living so far as possible like other self-reliant and self-respecting citizens. I am sure, too, that our observer would expect this special form of security that we have created under the name of old age assistance to mirror the fact that we are dealing with very large numbers. An intelligent people, he would assume, would not seek to apply to millions a highly individualized form of income determination and individual treatment that makes great demands upon skilled manpower. He would expect, in other words, that our special old age program would be relatively formalized.

Yet what would he find? In by far the great majority of states he would discover that old age assistance is only a more generous type of general assistance, differing from it not at all in essential form. It is a program which involves consideration of each case, individual by individual. With the exception of a handful of states there is no indication in the law as to the normal monthly payment that the individual can count upon. Only relatively few states require that the budgetary standard shall consist of even eight basic necessities, and still fewer indicate the money cost of such items. Large discretion is left, not only to local agencies, but often also to individual workers as to what items shall be included in the budget and as to the actual allowance for food, shelter, or clothing, etc. Definitions of need are equally vague, as would be expected when there is so little specification of the minimum living standard which the state aims to assure its aged. There is also great lack of precision as to the treatment of resources and as to the extent to which income from relatives is to be held available for the support of the applicant. It is true that there exists a right of appeal, but to what is the applicant to appeal when the law and administrative regulations fail to define the nature of the program? At most he can appeal from the discretion of one administrator to that of another. Nor can it even be argued that in compensation for the fact that this program fails to provide any one of the values which seem to make social insurance so favored, old age assistance has the advantage of meeting individual need more adequately and in full. The most striking feature of our old age assistance programs is the tremendous spread in average payments from state to state, a spread

that in no way corresponds to differences in living costs or the probable size of private resources possessed by applicants, and which involves at the lower end of the scale, payments so low that they cannot possibly be assumed to meet even the barest need. Indeed, there are still states in which, after the elaborate process of determining the budgetary deficiency has been completed at considerable cost in terms of the use of trained personnel, only a percentage of the amount found due is paid on account of financial stringency.

Is this the best we can do for several millions of Americans? Is there no alternative to a social insurance program which might protect the interests of the rest of the community and yet more nearly meet the desire of the aged for some measure of certainty, predictability, and freedom from administrative discretion? I think there is. I believe that we should secure a much better compromise between the various interests if we were prepared to adopt some form of noncontributory old age pension as it has been developed in many other countries and of which the British 1908 old age pension or the current New Zealand old age benefit provides an excellent example. The essence of this type of social security, which is neither social insurance nor public assistance but has elements of both, can be briefly characterized:

1. The law itself sets up certain standard monthly payments in money terms to which all eligible applicants are normally entitled.

2. The law also states the maximum income which applicants may possess in order to be entitled to the full standard payment and further provides for specific reductions in the standard payment as the applicant's income increases by certain stated amounts. There is a final upper limit of income beyond which no payment is made.

3. The law states with considerable precision exactly what is meant by income; that is, it may be stated that income means income of the individual applicant and/or his spouse, specifically ruling out income contributions from relatives, or it may provide that these contributions shall be treated as income only under certain clearly prescribed circumstances. Furthermore, the law defines what types and amounts of income from property are to be exempt entirely from the calculation of income for the purpose of determining eligibility, and sets out the principles to be applied in evaluating income, such as standard evaluations to be set on income in kind or the income equivalence of property of certain types.

4. Under this system procedures are formalized whenever possible.

Reinvestigation to determine continued eligibility may take place at quite long intervals, and it may even take the form of requiring the applicant to send in an annual statement (similar to an income tax return), reporting changes in economic circumstances, and involving individual reinvestigation in the home only for the purpose of spot checks.

I believe that from the point of view of the applicant this type of public aid has many advantages as compared with our present highly individualized special public assistance. In the first place, it involves a more formalized test of need, and there is much evidence to indicate that an income test is generally less offensive to people than an exhaustive test of need. For one thing, it involves no examination or discussion of his budgetary needs. Secondly, and this is especially important, this type of social security system enables the individual to discover for himself within fairly narrow limits just how much socially provided income he can count upon. Thirdly, the individual is left free, provided he can manage on the allowance, to spend his income as he wishes, to use or not use sources as he pleases, and to exercise to the full his initiative. Finally, it sets real limits to official discretion. Despite all precautions, and with the most sympathetic administration, the process of budget determination inevitably appears to the applicant as a form of control or direction. Under the system I am proposing, contact with the administrator in the home would be reduced to a minimum. Furthermore, a system such as this has much more chance of implementing the concept of "the right to public assistance" because the character of the right is spelled out in a more objective fashion in the law itself, and appeals against administrative decisions are more realistic because the criteria and the points at issue are more and more matters for objective, factual determination.

From the viewpoint of the population not in receipt of socially provided income, such a system has advantages. It is a method of dealing with large numbers with a minimum of administrative supervision and expense. All those who can manage on the stated payment can be left to themselves so far as their income security is concerned. The group which requires additional financial aid can still be assisted through the general assistance program, but the numbers who will thus require highly individualized treatment for social security purposes will be greatly reduced. At the same time, the presence of an income test differentiates the system from social insurance and means

that payments will be made only to those who have demonstrated need by passing the income test.

I am well aware that certain objections have been made to such a change in the nature of our present old age assistance program. Some administrators have objected on the ground that it does not permit individualized treatment. I would argue that when we are dealing with millions, this is, on the contrary, one of the real advantages of the system, especially since it does not eliminate the possibility of giving individualized treatment to those who cannot manage on the fixed payment. It has also been objected that the system would be undesirably rigid, that state legislatures meet only infrequently, that in the meantime costs of living might change and the dollar-standard pension become meaningless. To this I would reply that rapid responsiveness to changed living costs has not hitherto been an outstanding characteristic of our existing programs which have had to operate with appropriations fixed by infrequently meeting legislatures. And in any case, why should we not take advantage of the social inventions at our disposal? We live in an age which makes great use of the device of a cost of living index. Why not use it for the social security program and when the money pension is first written into the law provide that thereafter for every so many points change in the cost of living index in either direction the cash pension shall also change by a prescribed amount? The state of Utah, which already makes use of the cost of living index in this way for its unemployment insurance benefits, proves that our assumption of rationality is not altogether unreal.

Yet another objection is made, namely, that any money sum written into the law would inevitably be fixed at the lowest amount which would be accepted by the least liberal areas. But here again we need not despair. First, the very fact that this is a state and not a Federal program allows considerable flexibility. There would be no more reason under the system I am proposing for the old age pension in California or Washington to be held down to the level which is provided in North Carolina or Virginia than is the average payment on old age assistance at the present time. Why not reap this advantage of a state program? Secondly, to the extent that there are differences in the costs of a uniform minimum living standard within states, why not do what we did under the Work Projects Administration program and provide different standard money pensions according to

the degree of urbanization? That is what Sweden does, to cite one example of a rational people. Finally, there seems to be some rather general feeling about writing a specific sum of money into the law since it would bring the matter of the precise pension too prominently to public attention. But surely this is one of the greatest advantages of the system I propose. Far too little is known at the present time about the money income permitted to recipients of old age assistance. To write a specific standard into the law would bring the citizens face to face with their own meanness or generosity and would foster more intelligent discussion of the whole question of the appropriate standard of living of this group and of the various interests that must be compromised.

After all, unless the form of security in some way or other reflects the special characteristics of the selected group that are relevant for social security planning, what is the justification for special treatment and a separate social security program? One of the major justifications for the selection of the present categories has come to be largely of historical significance. In the past, categorization was a very effective method of securing more adequate funds for those deprived of income. Certain groups were selected, in regard to whom there was a strong body of public sentiment, or for whom it could be argued that economic and other reasons for niggardly treatment had no application. It was, in general, possible to argue that they were in large measure not responsible for their current state of insecurity. It seems doubtful whether, in view of the changed climate of opinion in the last twenty years, this justification for the categorical approach has any great validity. Indeed, in some ways, the categorical approach now operates as a boomerang. The very strength of some categories, e.g., the aged, has tended to be detrimental to the interest of others, such as children. If now, therefore, the initial justification for categorization is no longer so powerful and there are even some disadvantages, it is all the more necessary to satisfy ourselves that there are other convincing justifications for its retention.

It is sometimes said that this justification resides in the fact that the groups now treated on a categorical basis are people with unique and identifiable types of need. It is often urged that the aged and families with dependent children need certain types of service in addition to economic aid. This fact, however, would justify old age assistance as it in fact exists only if it could also be shown (*a*) that these

special needs are peculiar to those of the aged who need some form of public aid and are not experienced by persons otherwise similar who are living on their own resources; and (*b*) that these special needs can most appropriately be met by performing the service in the closest possible connection with the meeting of economic need. In fact, I believe that both these assumptions can be questioned and would be questioned by most social workers. Undoubtedly, aged people have some special needs, but these are common to many in these same age groups who are not in receipt of economic aid.

In the same way, there is reason to doubt whether the attempt to combine both economic aid and the rendering of other services is in the best interests of the development and quality of these other services. On the contrary, I believe that the noneconomic services will have a better and a sounder chance of developing if they are more sharply separated from the administration of socially provided income. In many cases, they are likely to be more readily accepted by the public aid recipient if they are not thought of as a concomitant of the receipt of special public assistance. Certainly, they are more likely to be utilized by other segments of the population if the lack of connection with the public assistance process is more evident. Again, I believe that there would be more opportunity to evaluate the character and quality of these other services on their own merits if they were more sharply separated from the administration of public assistance than is now the case when they are, so to speak, "squeezed in" as a subordinate and often publicly unappreciated part of the process of giving economic assistance. It may be objected that the public is not ready for these other services and that the only way to develop them is by bringing them in through the back door of the public assistance process. I doubt the validity of this objection. Already there are encouraging signs of a growing social awareness of the many problems of service associated with the growing numbers and proportions of the aged in the total population.

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF OLDER WORKERS

By Joseph W. Willard

THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRIALIZATION with its speeded-up processes and dilution of skills, the concentration of population in urban areas, and the prolongation of human life have all contributed to what may well be a type of long-run underemployment of older workers. Only under conditions of full and overfull employment has this situation been alleviated. Added to this chronic employment difficulty is the particular susceptibility of the older worker to cyclical unemployment when economic conditions are unfavorable. The downward path for men begins around the ages of forty to forty-five; for women, five to ten years earlier. An age that is often considered "the prime of life" has become for many a period of increasing employment handicaps.

The mechanization of industry and mass production techniques have led to increasing speed in industrial processes and, as a result, the speed of reaction of the worker has become of prime consideration in many occupations. Since reaction time slows up when middle age begins, age limits have been placed on many types of employment. This same industrial development has led in many instances to a dilution of skills through which many skilled trades have been converted to semiskilled or unskilled occupations. Not so long ago there was reasonable assurance that a skill, once acquired, would be good for life. Today, in a highly dynamic economy, a skill may become outmoded within a few years. Under such conditions the labor force must be continually readapted to the changing needs of industry. And in this adaptation process the older workers frequently bear a disproportionate share of technological unemployment. Once on the labor market, their chances, as unskilled laborers, of obtaining reemployment in new trades are seriously restricted by competition with younger workers.

With the rise of industrialization and the relative decline in the importance of agriculture there has been a steady increase in the proportion of industrial workers. Since farm work does not raise

the employment handicaps of age to the same extent as industry, the trend toward industrialization and urbanization has increased the employment problems of the aged.

The magnitude of the problem has taken on even larger dimensions because of demographic trends. Modern medicine and public health, together with a higher standard of general welfare, have considerably increased life expectancy. For example, expectation of life at birth for male whites in the United States jumped from forty-eight years in 1900 to almost sixty-three years in 1940. The lengthening of the span of life, combined with a marked decline in the birth rate until a few years ago, and the lack of any significant immigration in recent decades are resulting in a fundamental change in the age structure of the population.

The desire of the worker for security and leisure in later life and the preference on the part of many employers for younger workers constitute a formidable force toward early retirement. The limits to which retirement age can be lowered, if we are to maintain a high standard of living, will depend on such factors as the level of employment, average manhour productivity, and the amount of leisure time taken by productive workers for vacations, holidays, a shorter work week, and so on. With the proportion of older persons steadily increasing, the lowering of the retirement age results in a growing loss of effective manpower and, at the same time, places an added burden of maintenance on a proportionately smaller productive labor force.

For the individual, the psychological consequences of being continually refused employment because of age are very serious. The frustrations of being unable to use his skill, experience, and training, of being denied a means of self-support, and of feeling that there is no place for him in the economic society are bound to crowd our mental hospitals and increase the case load of outpatient clinics with complaints that are basically mental rather than physical.

While the effect of employment on physical well-being has not been fully explored, many psychologists and medical men believe, on the basis of their clinical observations, that life is prolonged by work that is enjoyed and is geared to one's capacity. The Nuffield report on the needs of the older worker in England stated that there is much evidence to show that continuous occupation is a means of delaying many of the effects of age.

In many instances, age discrimination in employment is making an attack upon the very core of our society—the family. Today more than half our young people do not become employed before they are eighteen, and many are still financially dependent upon their parents at twenty-two. The trend toward longer educational training coupled with youths' own employment problems has served to lengthen the period of family maintenance, and the cost of this support becomes increasingly more expensive in the later 'teens. Thus at a time when the wage earner's family responsibilities are heaviest, he reaches the period when age discrimination in employment becomes increasingly acute.

For men from forty to sixty-four years of age and women from thirty-five to sixty, and for men over sixty-five and women over sixty who desire to continue to work either on a full-time or part-time basis, employment opportunities are of prime concern rather than the provision of retirement benefits. It is imperative that these persons be social assets and not social liabilities.

However, many employers argue that older workers mean a higher cost of compensation insurance, increased rates for group insurance, and the weakening of private company pension plans, all of which are cost-increasing considerations. It is also contended that older workers are output-reducing factors because old age results in a physical decline and a lessening of productivity. Added to this is the argument that many older workers have experienced a loss or obsolescence of skills.

Evidence does not show, however, that industrial accident rates increase with advancing years, thus causing higher insurance compensation costs. While it has been found that susceptibility to accidents in general increases with age, the reverse is true in the case of industrial accidents. Statistical data show that the accident frequency rate is higher for the age group from twenty to twenty-four than for the age group from thirty to fifty-five. It should be mentioned, however, that although he is involved in fewer accidents, the older worker is slower to recover from injury and illness, which tends to balance accident costs with those of younger age groups.

Group insurance premiums are slightly higher for older workers, but the importance of this as a factor favoring younger employees has been greatly exaggerated. The premium rates quoted by a large Canadian life insurance company were $6.27 annually at age twenty-

five for $1,000 of group life insurance compared with $7.85 annually at age forty, or an increase of only $1.58 per $1,000 of insurance per year.[1] Relative to total pay roll, the addition caused by such a differential is comparatively unimportant. Further, a large proportion of the group insurance held is on an employee contributory basis involving no cost to the employer.

The situation with respect to pension plans differs with the type of plan. In some instances, higher contributions must be paid on behalf of older persons, while in others a minimum pension is provided regardless of the employee's age of entry to the plan. Under such circumstances the employer can advance a fair argument for a preference for younger employees. However, one common type of pension program provides for employer contribution on the basis of a certain percentage of the wages paid to the employee, irrespective of his age. Since the pension is then computed on the length of service of the employee, the employer is not penalized by being obliged to make larger contributions in the case of older persons. A number of plans do not include employees who are older than some particular age; other plans provide for the return of contributions upon retirement if the pension earned is below some specified annual amount. However, if some company pension plans are to become barriers to the employment of older workers, then it is time action was taken to provide public old age retirement pensions that are universal in coverage and have adequate benefits.

The experience of the second World War, when hundreds of thousands of older workers entered new occupations and performed efficient service, indicates that much of the criticism that older people resist change and are not readily adaptable to new situations is sheer prejudice. A survey [2] sponsored by the United States National Association of Manufacturers revealed that about one sixth of the employers found the adjustment of older workers to new situations more difficult than that of younger workers, while about one half of the employers felt that there was no difference, and one third indicated that older workers adjust themselves more readily to changed conditions. There is much evidence to support the contention that while greater care

[1] Arthur MacNamara, "Are Older Workers Being Left Out?" *Industrial Canada,* XLVIII, No. 4 (August, 1947), 62.

[2] "The Problem of the Older Worker," *Labour Gazette,* XLVII, No. 9 (September, 1947), 1255.

is required in selection of older workers for jobs, once they are suitably placed they tend to be more reliable and efficient.

In the war production retraining courses at Harvard University in 1943, where there was a fair cross section of older workers, it was found that, with adequate incentive, these older workers not only could retain and master new information, but, because of their past experience in industry, could contribute new ideas of definite originality and value.[3]

When economic conditions are favorable, labor turnover is a serious and costly problem in industry. The data available indicates that where working conditions are reasonably good and rates of pay are "fair," the turnover is greater in the lower than in the higher age groups. There appears to be less tendency toward boredom on the part of the older workers when the task is routine and repetitive. Further, the older person usually has greater responsibilities to himself, his family, and the community, all of which tend to make him less mobile.

There is, on the average, some diminution of productive efficiency with age, but it must be emphasized that the decline is slight and usually counterbalanced by other assets such as greater experience, maturity of judgment, and stability. Unfortunately, the employment differential which operates to the disadvantage of the older worker is often the beliefs which employers, and even workers themselves, have concerning the question, rather than the actual employability of the person. Because of this, the adverse differential has been unduly exaggerated. Further, the whole approach to the problem has, in many instances, been so perverted that emphasis is placed upon the faculties an individual lacks, regardless of whether they are needed for the particular job, rather than on those he possesses. Full recognition has not been given to the fact that very few jobs require all human faculties.

Old age itself has no chronological date stamp. Because we use chronological age as an index in everyday life, we frequently forget that it does not represent functional or physiological age. Physical stamina may vary so much that chronological age is not a reliable guide. The physical condition of some men at sixty-five is comparable

[3] Ross A. McFarland, "The Older Worker in Industry," *Harvard Business Review*, XXI, No. 4 (Summer Number, 1943), 512–13.

to that of others at fifty. For some persons, mental senescence may come prematurely, while in others mental faculties may show little or no effect with age.

Too often the chronological age stated on an application for employment automatically eliminates a worker whose functional age might be much younger and wholly satisfactory for the job. It is to industry's advantage to sift prospective employees by means of aptitude tests and tests of individual physiological and mental reserve so that ability and efficiency may be valued independently of chronological age. If age is to be used at all as an attribute in selection it is the "functional" age of the worker that industry must know, that is, the worker's vision, motor skill, and so on, translated into the requirements of a specific job and its environment. The real usefulness of an older worker will depend, therefore, upon how effectively he has been placed and upon his physical and mental fitness for that specific job rather than upon his age.

Having an appreciation of the assets and the disabilities of older workers in our present-day economy, how can we seek to alleviate and, indeed, to correct this fundamental disequilibrium in the utilization of our labor force?

As with so many of our economic and social problems a high degree of employment is of fundamental importance. The experience of the past two decades has amply demonstrated that older workers are a marginal group in the labor force whose employment opportunities are intimately dependent upon a high level of economic activity and employment. Further, it appears that it may be only in periods of overfull employment and full employment, such as have existed for a few years in this decade, that the problem will diminish to insignificant proportions. For even under present favorable economic conditions the question is one of serious concern, and it is apparent that the impact of even a slight business recession would fall with particular severity upon this extremely sensitive sector of our labor force.

Since may of the prejudices that lead to discrimination against older workers are unfounded, educational efforts directed at correcting some of these erroneous beliefs are needed. This is an area in which employment advisory committees, on which there is employer-employee representation, might play a particularly useful role. Since the war, regional and national employment committees in Canada

have been giving this whole question a considerable amount of study. As a part of an educational program, the Canadian Department of Labor has appealed to employers on behalf of older workers through the radio and the press and on the screen. This kind of approach serves, not only to correct misapprehensions concerning age liabilities, but also to cultivate a better appreciation of age assets.

Research concerning employment of older persons has already been carried out to considerable extent; but much remains to be done in order to provide us with an adequate understanding of the problems involved. It has been suggested that, just as during the war, research was undertaken to improve our knowledge of the soldier, sailor, and airman under adverse environmental conditions and in combat, so now investigations should be carried out on the physiological, psychological, social, and economic problems of old age.

Every effort must be made to prevent the worker from becoming technologically and physiologically obsolete as he grows older. As his physical and mental condition changes he should be reassigned to positions that will utilize experience and training rather than strength and agility. From the technological standpoint, industrial retraining programs should be available to enable the continual readjustment of the older worker to work that is commensurate with his functional age.

In the case of the unemployed older worker, the ordinary placement service often falls short of meeting the need. An evaluation of the experience, the skills, and the physical capacities of a particular worker must be accompanied by an analysis both of the job itself and of the environment related to the job. Frequently, in ordinary placement operations, the heavy volume of work permits only lip service to this procedure.

For a large number of older workers effective placement demands a detailed analysis both of people and of jobs which would not be feasible in the case of ordinary types of placement. More than that, this kind of placement requires counseling and vocational guidance on the one hand and an energetic man-marketing service on the other.

A special service of this type requires skilled and experienced staff and takes much time, so that it is a costly procedure. Because it is costly, special placement activity for unemployed older workers must be limited to those who cannot obtain suitable employment through

regular channels. In these cases the added expense would be small when set against the increase in productivity of a person suitably employed, and the physical and psychological benefits that accrue to the individual from useful employment.

In many instances, selective placement may require more than counseling, vocational guidance, and energetic placement promotion. The older worker may have physical defects which are remedial; he may need a training course to fit him for a new vocation. For older workers who need rehabilitation an integrated program of special placement training and remedial health services is needed. This is the approach adopted and widely acclaimed in the rehabilitation of handicapped veterans. It should be applied with equal vigor in the case of unemployed older workers who have productive potential but who cannot gain re-employment through normal channels.

With our aging population, problems of the older worker will constantly become more urgent. For the sake both of the individual and of society it is imperative that effective action be taken. It will serve no purpose to gloss over and obscure any deficiencies that may come with age. The real danger is that they will be misrepresented and exaggerated. Further research and educational programs can help to overcome misunderstanding and prejudice. However, in spite of such efforts, much of a stubborn and difficult problem will remain to be dealt with through a rehabilitation process which provides selective placement, counseling, training, and certain remedial health services, each one of which must be translated into individual terms so that the worker receives personal attention for a personal problem.

Like persons in all other age groups, the older worker has his own special weaknesses and his own special qualifications. His experience and stability are required as much as the fresh approach and enthusiasm of youth. And he needs the opportunity to work, and the assurance of a useful place in society, as much as he needs the promise of security that is offered through retirement pension schemes.

MENTAL HEALTH NEEDS OF THE AGED

By Jack Weinberg, M.D.

TO FACILITATE THE UNDERSTANDING of the mental needs of the aged, one should define "old age" and consider the psychology of aging. The concept of what constitutes the "old" varies with the age of the individual defining it. To the child, those in their thirties are ancient, whereas to a man of forty, life may have its beginnings at that very period. Chronological age is certainly not indicative of the mental or physical age of any given person. In women the menopause is generally considered as a milestone marking the end of one period of life and the beginning of a less desirable one. In males the critical age, according to Havelock Ellis, has its biological foundations in the genital decadence with changed neuro-endocrine reactions. Kenneth Walker placed the age of this change at fifty-five to sixty; Rankin, between fifty-seven and sixty-three; Max Mareuse, between forty-five and fifty-five, and even at forty. Hamilton, in a highly selected group of cases, found the age to be from thirty-seven to forty.

My belief is that the transition from a well-stabilized psychological maturity of the personality to one of decline starts at various ages, and though it may have its basis in physical changes it is really a psychological one. When one begins to look back at one's past with fond nostalgia and at the future with apprehension and feelings of insecurity, when the past becomes the good old days and the present and future disturbing, aging has begun. To the psychiatrist it is apparent that human beings between forty and fifty begin to think about the coming of old age. The gradual change in appearance, the greying of hair, the diminished capacity for physical work, and, above all, the feeling that one's erotic values are diminishing are all factors in the organism's perception that a peak has been reached and that the descent has begun.

If life has been successful and there is a prospect of continued emotional, economic, and social security, then one's value as a personality has not diminished, and one can still enjoy the importance which greater experience and social power bestow upon one. When,

later on, the impairment of sensory functions, motor performances, and memory functions becomes undeniable, and a decline in creative mental capacities becomes obvious to the individual himself, a rearrangement in the mental processes must take place. Some will be unable to accept their losses from age and will revolt with complaining protestations. Others will give up completely. And then there will be those who will attempt to compensate in a world of fantasy which may be an illicit revival of the past, divorced one way or another from reality.

Broadly speaking, the problems of senescence arise intrinsically from the threat of organ destruction, and extrinsically from socio-economic and other ego and libidinous frustrations. Aging, as Ferenczi and Hollos [1] saw it, affects most intensely the two poles of our narcissism, that is, the most highly catechted organs and the most important bulwarks of our self-esteem, namely, the genitals and the brain. Ferenczi [2] has also pointed out the inordinately high narcissistic investment of the skin and its appendages, which, unfortunately, is the first system to show age most readily. For the organs of sight and hearing, as well as the central nervous system (all skin derivatives), show definite and early impairment of perception, interpretation, and reaction. Changes in the endocrine system and increased muscular fatiguability add to the general increment of physical decline. The results on the organism from the physical and emotional standpoint are not even subtle. Once again the individual must become dependent. Like a child one must again be helped across the street, helped to lift heavy objects, to retrieve speedily receding objects, and to do a thousand and one little chores which become increasingly more difficult to perform.

This physical inadequacy leads to a disquieting insecurity which is rapidly augmented by the paradox of increasing psychic rigidity in an environment influx demanding constant readaptation. To master new situations requires the greatest efficiency and integration of the ego. The decrease of efficiency of the ego in the aged almost invariably calls forth anxiety when readjustment is necessary. To avoid anxiety the aging organism will cling to the plane of adjustment already

[1] S. Ferenczi and S. Hollos, *Psychoanalysis and the Psychic Disorder of General Paresis*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 42 (New York and Washington, 1925).

[2] S. Ferenczi, *Disease or Patho-Neuroses, Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis* (London: Hogarth, 1926), p. 78.

achieved, no matter how faulty. It is loath to give up old automatized and habitual patterns of behavior and reacts to new situations as to some danger, with hostility and irritability. Change is regarded with suspicion and fear, and the individual will cling tenaciously to a world in which he has achieved his maximum instinctual gratification and his nearest approach to a mastery of his environment. Thus, as both Atkin [3] and Kaufman [4] suggested, conservatism and psychic rigidity are in essence ego defenses against anxiety, that is, dynamic mental processes rather than fixed habit patterns beyond therapeutic reach. For all practical purposes, however, this rigidity keeps the aged out of step with the ever changing world and only acts to isolate them and add to their insecurity.

With the decrement in personal physical and emotional assets the older person finds very little support or supplementation from the world in which he lives. Our social and economic systems add little to the comfort of the aged but do a great deal to further his apprehensions. Family life in our great urban areas where the aged suffer most has greatly deteriorated. The smaller apartment, the desire of the younger persons to live their own lives in their own way, and the reduced social pressure upon the young to support the aged have gone too far in the separation of the ages and the creation of small family units. The aging individual whose dependency on human ties increases as inner assets diminish is incapable of relinquishing his family precisely at the time when the latter is at the peak of its own independent expression.

Then too, our present period is characterized by an urgent need and effort for interrupting cultural traditions and superseding old patterns. The aged, identified as they are with the old patterns, seem to be directly in the path of this change so that our attitudes toward them are quite ambivalent. On the one hand, we may turn to them for advice in times of stress as we do to our so-called "elder statesmen"; on the other, we look upon them as meddling, stubborn reactionaries who stand in the way of progress. The growing number of older people who symptomatically resist change not only place themselves at a disadvantage, but also, ironically enough, prevent social and economic progress which may ultimately work to their advantage. The

[3] S. Atkin, "Discussion of Paper by Kaufman," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, X, No. 1 (January, 1940), 79–83.

[4] M. R. Kaufman, "Old Age and Aging: the Psychoanalytic Point of View," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, X, No. 1 (January, 1940), 73–79.

impatience of the "fast-stepping" youth with the slowed-down oldsters widens the gulf, and the latter, further isolated, feel unwanted and more insecure.

Industry has done little to meet the needs of the aged. It is geared for high production, an inevitable necessity for the postwar world; for we are pledged to save democracy by bolstering economically any country that wishes to maintain a democratic form of government. The results are high production quotas, particularly since our statesmen believe that we are in a race with time itself to preserve our form of government and life. Though greater manpower is needed, only the young can keep the pace set for the worker in industry. Here too our ambivalence is readily discernible. We pay lip service to the values of the individual but are ready to "plow him under" for the right to preserve him. There is no place for the aging person in industry, certainly not on the worker's level. Though industrial leaders have tried to answer these charges with statistics showing an apparent increase of older workers, this seems to be more than offset by a still greater increase in the average age of the population. Retirement at a small pension is industry's attempt to solve the problem. Yet nothing more deadly could possibly be contrived than the termination of a human being's productive contribution to society.

We can readily see that though the problems of aging are unique to the process itself, the basic mental health needs are the human needs that are dominant throughout one's life, namely, security and adequacy. The old person needs the security of belonging to a family group and being wanted. The threat of the loss of the members of the family by dispersal and the loss of old friends by death is acutely real. Hope for an improved state of affairs, deemed so necessary for adequate integrative function, is somewhat unreal at the twilight of life. Therefore, the necessity to belong, to cling to all supporting figures and human ties, is inordinate in this group and should be met if we are to avoid serious disturbances. Any attempts to make the aged more independent and self-sufficient are interpreted as further rejections. As their powers wane and personal resources diminish they become more dependent, and more than ever they crave the continuing comfort and security of a family relationship or its equivalent. I would, therefore, examine seriously the advisability of fostering strong independent reactions in those who, like children, are unable to accept them.

Financial security, though secondary to that of personal relationships, imposes more problems. Here again the threat is very real. One has either achieved security by the time senescence has begun, or it is doomed to further deterioration. Diminished earnings with no prospect for improvement and the possibility of needs expanded through physical deterioration and illness are added hazards for proper emotional adjustment. While some can and will live on an unearned income without any feelings of guilt or shame, the majority of the aged feel ashamed to do so. It echoes too much their general feelings of inadequacy to be acceptable.

Feelings of inadequacy arise when an individual fails to meet his own concept of what is required of him. He believes that he finds these feelings mirrored in the attitudes of those about him. When one's erotic values are diminished because of physical changes, one must either compensate through the enhancement of other values, or give way to erratic forms of behavior. The former can be accomplished through the encouragement of an individual who gives support in a personal relationship. The inadequacy can be stilled by the utilization of their wider experience, the greater perspective which comes with years, steadiness, and their willingness to assume burdens and responsibilities. Otherwise, they may overcompensate through disastrous adventures with inappropriate love objects. Thus older men may "take up" with very young people of both sexes, and women at the climacterium will make fools of themselves over younger men as a last stand against the fading of their erotic values.

What then is the solution of these problems of the aged? How can we best stave off emotional upheavals which may culminate in severe neurotic or psychotic reactions? Obviously, medical science is helpless in the face of structural changes which are not quite understood and which are seemingly inherent in the aging process. It can, through proper medical care and hygiene, diet, exercise, etc., conserve physical energies and prolong life, but as yet it has not mastered the inroads of time on body tissues. However, a great deal can be done by way of mental hygiene. The answer to all the mental health problems of the aging can be summarized as continued productive life, financially secure in a secure group environment.

To accomplish these objectives a vigorous program should be adopted. A research program embracing all phases of the needs of the aged should be initiated. Industry should be investigated and

canvassed for all facilities where the skills acquired by older people could be utilized at a tempo suited to the slowing physical organism and the industry involved. St. Petersburg, Florida, a Mecca for the aged during the winter months, has done a great deal to give the aged the sense of belonging. Its tempo, hotels, recreational facilities, planned activities, even its sidewalks, are admirably adapted to the needs of its visitors. There is an air of optimism, security, and adequacy among the older folks who are given ample opportunity for personal relationships on its green benches. However, most significant is the fact that the city is engaged in an active program to invite industries to utilize the skills of the aged on a part-time basis. This should tend to decrease the feelings of uselessness and augment inadequate pensions.

Research into the possibility of better *rapprochement* between the old and the young is certainly indicated. A re-evaluation of the roles of the two groups may dispell frictions and annoyances. Can the old learn to respect the autonomy and judgment of their children and to relinquish outmoded parental attitudes? Can the young learn to tolerate the idiosyncrasies of their parents? Dr. Lillian J. Martin, founder of the Old Age Center in San Francisco, partially answered the question by demonstrating the ability to modernize some of the habits and attitudes of older people. The advisability of larger households and greater mutual responsibility is also worthy of study.

Communal life could be investigated to determine whether smaller communities offer more satisfaction to the aged than the larger cities. Careful observation of the aged themselves should help us to determine what type of municipal recreational program would be of most help.

Social agencies have heretofore carried the burden of the mentally needy aged living outside mental institutions. Caught as they are between the necessity of interpreting the limitations, budgetary and otherwise, of their respective agencies to hostile clients and the pessimistic therapeutic evaluation of the same clients by the consulting psychiatrists, their caseworkers yet manage to carry on with dogged if not cheerful determination. However, their greatest service may not be the precise casework done but rather the exclusive attention and interest which they give to an old person. One cannot overemphasize the therapeutic value of lending a helpful ear to the querulous, endlessly reminiscencing, or complaining old client. It would

seem necessary, therefore, for the social service agencies to secure adequate personnel, lighten the casework load, and devise means to supply more readily the basic human ties so hungrily sought by older people.

Psychiatrists have to some extent modified their rigid viewpoints toward geriatric psychiatry. Freud wrote, "Near and above the fifty's, the elasticity of the mental processes on which the treatment depends is, as a rule, lacking—old people are no longer educatable, and, on the other hand, the mass of material to be dealt with would prolong the duration of the treatment indefinitely." [5] Later he stated, "psychoanalysis loses its effectiveness after the patient is too advanced in years." However, since Abraham's presentation of his clinical observations on several patients of over fifty, other observers have come to believe that the personality of the individual is not quite so rigid for psychoanalytic therapy as they had been led to believe. There are, however, vast uncharted seas and fields into which psychiatrists could delve to the benefit of the aged.

May I reiterate that the mental health needs of the aged revolve about their inadequacies in the face of failing capacities, financial insecurity, and the loss of supporting figures. These needs could be met through the coöperation and concerted efforts of sociologists, social service workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists. The effort should consist of a coördinated research program sponsored by these various fields and active adoption of plans evolved.

[5] S. Freud, "On Psychotherapy," *Collected Papers* (London: Hogarth, 1904), I, 258; "Sexuality in the Etiology of the Neuroses," *ibid.*, p. 245.

GROUP LIVING FOR THE ELDERLY

By Ruth Hill

REPORT No. 9 of the Social Security Board's Public Assistance Division, called "Living Arrangements of the Aged," describes recipients in twenty-one states for the year 1944 and makes comparisons between this dependent group and the aged population as a whole. The facts strongly reflect the preference for noninstitutional living. Nine out of ten were members of a private household. This is true of aged recipients and also of the aged in general. The term "private household" includes own home or that of relatives. Three fourths of these old people in homes were in their own homes, and the remaining one fourth were in the homes of relatives.

Group living can be obtained in a family home, in a boarding or nursing home, in a hospital, or in an institutional setting. Settings which offer group living advantages include congregate residences or the cottage colony plan with shared facilities or services that combine protection and freedom, and housing projects of individual dwelling units for single people where community social protective service is given to tenants.

A household may be natural or synthetic, but the enriching qualities of the synthetic must meet standards that we have evolved from satisfaction with the natural product. We know that the Lord setteth the solitary in families and that the human animal has a tendency toward solitariness which can be very handicapping. We know that this handicap is lessened if there is a social aspect to daily living. In later years the capacity and the opportunity to make new friends gradually slow down, and, at the same time, contemporaries diminish in number. Group living arrangements have their greatest significance as a substitute for the contacts and stimulation of normal living. No one can deny that they also offer protection and needed care. It is, however, in their socializing influence that their greatest significance to the individual lies. A homey atmosphere in a carelessly run boarding or nursing home will be the secret of its popularity. Freedom of individual choice is cherished by its members over and

above the higher standard of food and cleanliness exemplified in another, less family-like group living arrangement.

We would like to look into the future and see advances which are adequate and reflect the vast change in the age grouping of our population. Human imagination ought to devise housing accommodations suited to the varying needs of the people. Before taking into account our actual accomplishments, let us visualize the essentials for the peculiar needs of the age group, sixty years of age and over, which will constitute one fourth of all Americans in 1970.

We think of comfortable residential hotels and apartments for those older people who have adequate financial resources. We visualize all kinds of service being available. There will be an exchange where work and diversional occupations are offered. Housekeeping will be reduced to the minimum, and there will be some domestic service, catering service, nursing and companion care, with visiting housekeepers, and occupational therapists on call. We can visualize each settlement belonging to an area which offers facilities for living in apartments or in boarding and nursing arrangements, not far from familiar settings, and at rates suited to different incomes. We can foresee a change in the attitude of the public and the family so that when an older person remains with the younger generations, there will always be provision for privacy and a recognition of the necessity for outside interests.

Older people in the future will probably gain some of the advantages of group living by associating themselves in their free time with people engaged in public service and altruistic movements. We imagine that there will be senior associations and that older people will occupy a position of influence to the end of their days because they have kept themselves refreshed and growing. Tensions in the relatives' home will be lessened by the more active life of the older person. There will be a fair chance for him to compete in the conversations about the doings of the day. Retirement may well be a gradual affair, and state subsidies may be developed to sponsor the handicraft and other activities of older people.

We can picture, in the not too distant future, public assistance and insurance reaching a realistic standard. We know that "the basic human needs are not met in many places," as Rose McHugh once said. Government security programs may well include visiting occupational therapists; rehabilitative work may be begun the moment

it is recognized that a person has a serious physical impairment. Since employment is so important as an activity for many, we visualize old age centers equipped with vocational units and clinical facilities as well as recreational programs. We can see public funds building such centers and private funds adding to them such special facilities as cafeterias and exhibit rooms for special projects. Adaptations in all kinds of public resources may take place. Transportation facilities may well be adapted in construction and schedules for use by elderly people during the nonrush hours. Group living arrangements may become the usual mode of living because of services available and a graded scheme for degrees of responsibility. Long-time institutional care may be limited to those who cannot be trained to do the daily tasks involved in ordinary living. Old people may go in and out of institutions for brief training periods. Even the private homes may reflect an out-of-the-home program which will be more significant than the protected living arrangements for those who cannot take care of themselves outside the four walls.

Housing units may be built with all kinds of combination living quarters, suitable for people of complete self-reliance and for those who have to depend on certain personal services. One may also visualize a community service in housing projects whereby, on a volunteer plan, neighbors assume the responsibility for "stopping around each day" to see whether old Mrs. Jones is all right. This little neighborly visiting plan has in it great potential value and would allay the fears of some who, without it, would be prompted to seek the protection of an institution. One sees, in the future, contractual arrangements between society and its older citizens so that assurances are given of varying types of care in different group living arrangements.

But enough of imagining and daydreaming. What advances have we actually seen in group living arrangements for older people? There has not been much actual building in the interests of housing older people. Public housing in Cleveland has special units for elderly tenants, and prospective tenants are selected, in part at least, if they appear able to use and are desirous of a social setting with a community center. Such housing efforts have been all too few, but there are commendable instances of public housing in which some dwellings are set aside for older couples. No Federal housing provides for single old tenants, although we know that local housing projects have

accepted them. In view of the strong preference of the aged for living alone in a housekeeping unit, we should interest builders in the many different combinations of housing that can be built, offering both cherished privacy and economies such as shared bathrooms, use of the kitchenette sink as a washbasin, and common laundry and storage space in the basement. The Welfare Council of New York City has prepared recommendations in regard to standards of housing for the aged, proposing no segregation of them and emphasizing the importance of a minimum of hazards in building construction. Social workers have done little in this area of influence.

Plans for building public institutions for the aged seem to be in abeyance, although it is recognized that we need them in increasing numbers as housing for infirm and chronically ill patients. Building costs hold back some communities. Meanwhile, the use of old public institutions, which housed ambulatory and chronically ill old people prior to social security programs, as hospitals for the chronically ill has gained momentum. County nursing homes are being developed out of public institutions in some states. In Illinois the county must qualify for state aid by meeting state standards of construction and care. Such a program has the advantages of decentralization and accessibility to friends and known medical personnel. A few public homes like the one in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, represent exciting new advances in the program of rehabilitation. Residents with crippling disabilities have been taught self-care, and there have been discharges to self-supporting positions as a result of therapeutic measures.

At Warrenville, Ohio, in the city institution for the chronically ill and the aged, life was brought into that group living by a volunteer program whose leader was familiar with institutional life. As a result of the steadfast interest of these intelligent volunteer visitors, larger advances took place, such as provision of resident medical and nursing care and an activity program for patients or guests which has startlingly revealed strengths in their personalities. For example, a group of handicapped old people work side by side, supplementing each other's defects in the production of rag rugs. The good eyes and hands of one thread the needle, the good hands of a blind woman wind the rags, and a paralytic operates the loom from his wheel chair. Each gives what he has in the production, instead of sitting with dull, in-

ward despair because of what he has lost. These are actual and spiritual advances in group living, and society shares in the benefits to the individual.

Group living in private institutions reveals definite changes that we can truly call advances. Many of these changes center in a recognition of the social tendency of man, whatever his age or outlook. One Protestant denomination has planned its program of institutional care around small boarding homes rather than following the traditional pattern of one large, central, congregate building. It has chosen this path in order to serve its charges in the very towns with which they are familiar. Old private dwellings, close to business district, churches, and amusement centers have been taken over. In each home about ten elderly women live as boarders with a matron who attends to the managerial functions. This is for old people who are not in need of that last group living arrangement, hospital care. Six such homes now function in central Pennsylvania as a result of this imaginative boarding plan of the Presbyterians. Such a program is flexible and starts with the basic desire of the elderly to stay where they know and are known.

Another church home reports that its residents are encouraged to engage in outside activities, including earning. This idea, which took hold during the war, is so popular with the residents that it is well nigh impossible now to drop in for a visit without an appointment. Freedom of choice presupposes different courses, and here the home has actually assisted in offering interests to those who are without natural resources.

In the Home for Aged Jews in Chicago, the ninety residents, although their average age is eighty, have responded to the home's efforts to develop initiative. One resident presented a report to the annual meeting of the board, bringing out the guests' evident pleasure at the freedom of choice open to each one and at the respect shown their sincere suggestions on management. Three committees of residents are active, and the superintendent has begun a series of group discussions with relatives of residents, a dozen at a time, describing the institution, the meaning of their visits to a resident, and the obligation we all have to prepare for our own old age.

Occupational therapy and the beginning of a sheltered workshop in one home point up a widening concern that our elders shall be

offered the opportunity of retraining and that they shall remain as producers, if and as long as they choose to do so.

We see nothing better in separate apartment living with commonly shared facilities, such as a cafeteria, than Tompkins Square House in New York City as it is maintained by the Community Service Society. Such a plan serves a low-income group and is a tax-free, privately supported project. There are other charitable ventures, such as the coöperative housing clubs for elderly men in Seattle under the auspices of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Such arrangements offer privacy and protection to able-bodied old people. A few colony plans are known, as, for example, the one at Moosehaven, Florida.

Let us not lose sight, however, of the aged who are infirm and ill. Group living for them is possible only with attendant service. Infirmaries are a part of the housing plans for the aged poor of the Trustees of the London Parochial Charities, and it is certainly a kinder arrangement to have the ill cared for in some medically supervised manner, close enough to their accustomed place of dwelling to facilitate visiting by husband, wife, or other close associates, than to plan for central institutions where both size and distance add to the traumatic experience. Illness will occur, and transition from the able-bodied to the completely dependent classification is often by imperceptible degrees. All dwelling units for the aged call for a residential superintendent or director even if the tenants are limited to those who are ambulatory.

Boarding and nursing homes are the most common choice between giving no care and providing hospital or medical care. Public assistance has picked up the support in boarding and nursing homes of many feeble aged who, prior to passage of the Security Act, would have gone to public institutions. Here a group living arrangement is offered on a commercial basis and, in some rare instances, on a philanthropic basis to old people who need daily care of varying degrees. This commercial type of substitute home is springing up as a lucrative business venture. The number of such arrangements is known to the state licensing agency. In the main, licensing agencies have concerned themselves with the legal aspects, and those subtler factors of evaluation, like the satisfaction of the customer, are still to be developed. As one agency put it, "We have been so busy finding boarding and nursing facilities sufficient in number to meet our needs that we

haven't been able to go much beyond the rudimentary questions of space, personnel, and safety."

A great new field of endeavor lies before us in understanding the proprietors' problems of careless referral and poor follow-up by social and medical agency personnel, lack of fitness of the proprietor for the position, no training resources, and no status in the social planning setup of the community. Fortunately, the joint committee on chronic care of the American Public Health Association, the American Hospital Association, the American Medical Association, and the American Public Welfare Association has approved three types of nursing home: commercial, philanthropic, and publicly subsidized. We need a great deal more experience with various auspices to build up standards to be used as guides. The homes have already advanced where there has been an earnest effort by medical and social service personnel to help work out safeguards in referral. Much help will come with more careful medical follow-up and through better public assistance policies on payment and service. Licensing is the beginning, but administrative supervision is equally important. To make the patients live, not just to keep them alive, must be accepted as advantageous to the manager. A simple, informal joining of forces between medical-social agencies and the managers to work out certain problems may be a good start toward improvement.

Too often these homes and their proprietors are seen by social workers as a haven in time of storm but are not cultivated on a continuing basis. Real sympathy will help to bring about improvements in an area too long neglected except for precautionary legal measures. A vacancy registry for nursing homes has been set up in Boston under the leadership of its council and maintained by the homes themselves. This advance came after two years of discussion and testing of joint interests by developing an improved medical referral form. The Department of Institutions and Agencies in New Jersey has made the nursing home one of its major concerns. It has set a sliding scale of payments for its public assistance clients in nursing homes and has insisted upon nursing supervision. In several places where a registered nurse was not to be afforded, the state agency has insisted upon nursing supervision by the visiting nurse association in the community.

Let us take encouragement where we may and observe the increase in general interest in the aged. The Federal Council of Churches, in February of 1948, called its first conference of Protestant homes for

the aged. They voted to request a continuing committee and more meetings after two days of packed discussion regarding the significance of age, trends in institutional work, the chaplain's role, and future planning. The group heard Margaret Wagner say, "Beware the institution that is spic and span and silent," and heard Dr. Edward Stieglitz say, "This is the age of age. We have no experience to guide us. Never before has there been such a heavy proportion of old people in the land. We can use them or give them a handout."

Dr. Howard Rusk has not only led in this field of care for the chronically ill, but also has presented to the public evidence of what rehabilitation of the physically handicapped can do. New York State has a Commission on the Aging; Connecticut has a Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Chronically Ill, Aged, and Infirm and is now using available space for a state rehabilitation treatment center. The Wiebold Foundation has given a three-year grant to the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, to be used in planning for older people. Philadelphia and Chicago have central services for the chronically ill, which means the aged, primarily. We see the faint beginning of a program for the extension of the employment period beyond that found under our present retirement psychology. This will take much patience and leadership to develop. The public must not be content with offering recreation alone to older people.

It will be interesting to see whether many private homes for the aged join the list of a few courageous ones which have planned for people outside the institution. Sometimes those on the waiting list are regarded as the responsibility of the institution and may be accepted for entrance in poor physical condition because of a sense of responsibility to a member on the waiting list. The use of caseworkers on problems of admission and adjustments after admission is a distinct trend toward progress, as is also the use of social group workers for activity programs within these institutions. We see homes, like one in Hartford, which offer their facilities to social group work auspices for old age clubs. The best evidence of progress, however, lies in the recognition of the position of superintendent as one which requires administrative skill and an appreciation of casework and social group work.

With all these hopeful signs, one looks for a plan or a trend and is reminded of what Lecomte du Noüy says in *Human Destiny*. There he describes some of the forms of life in the dim and distant past in

which the adaptability to environment became perfect, and then stopped. When the environment changed, the species died out because of an inability to meet new conditions. He contrasts man's imperfect ability to adapt and his constant dissatisfaction at every stage in his progress. He brings out brilliantly the stimulus which dissatisfaction has been to man in his evolutionary journey.

This seems to be closely connected with the newness of our problem of the aged. The newness lies in the disturbing picture of the rapid increase in the numbers of the old. The encouragement comes from the revelations that are being made of the ability of old people to meet their problems and to use experience constructively. If in our group living arrangements we see a new crucible for blending the elements of initiative, judgment, and the experience of our older people in a way that will be useful to society, we shall not be found wanting in this unique challenge to the human race of absorbing elderly people on a level of dignity, respect, and recognition of their contribution.

SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS IN LIVING FOR ELDERLY CITIZENS IN GREAT BRITAIN

By Richard Clements

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFTERMATH of war in Great Britain has made life much harder and more complicated for men and women of advanced years; and for this reason it is essential to stress the need for a comprehensive social program for the aged. We in Britain attach a great importance to securing a partnership between the State and voluntary organizations in the building of this program. We see the social work field as one and indivisible. As representatives of voluntary social thought and action, we welcome each opportunity to strengthen and extend a partnership of effort and service in the interest of the aged.

Let me indicate the rising proportion of the aged to the rest of the population. Estimates differ, but the broad trends are clear. The number of men and women in the pensionable age group (sixty-five for men and sixty for women), if present trends in population are confirmed, will increase as the years go by. In 1901 there were more than five times as many children under fifteen as there were persons of pensionable age; in 1961 the number of children and possible pensioners will be about equal; and in 1971 there will be more possible pensioners than there are children. The social significance of these facts has been brought home to public opinion in Great Britain in Lord Beveridge's report on social security, and in the pages of the report of the Rowntree Committee.

What has the British State already done to provide income in the way of pensions for the aged? Until the passage of the first old age pension law in 1908, the citizen of Britain had been left to provide for his old age as best he could; and if for any reason he failed in this, unless relatives and friends came to his aid, there was nothing left but to apply to private charity or the Poor Law. The act of 1908 made a pension of from 1/- to 5/- a week available at the age of seventy, subject to a means test, but free from the test of destitution or the stigma of the Poor Law. In 1909 there were 500,000 persons

in receipt of these pensions. This was not a social insurance scheme; no money contributions were required; the pension became payable to those of limited means on attaining the age of seventy. The act represented, however, a great step forward, for it accepted the principle that the community had a responsibility for the financial amelioration of the lot of the aged.

Then, in 1925, a Conservative Minister of Health, the late Neville Chamberlain, extended the social insurance scheme to provide for a payment of 10/- per week at the age of sixty-five, subject to a stipulated number of insurance contributions. Thus was created the link between social insurance and provision for old age. It was recognized, of course, even in the years before the second World War, that this pension was inadequate, and, in fact, many pensioners, as well as old people who had no pension rights and had not reached seventy, had to apply to the Public Assistance Committee for relief or institutional care.

Then, in 1940, Parliament empowered the Assistance Board to supplement the income of old age pensioners, whether in receipt of contributory or noncontributory pensions, on proof of need. The officers of the Board made the necessary investigations and authorized payments; these were based upon a scale rate plus a rent allowance, and there were discretionary powers to make payments for exceptional needs. Both rent allowances and discretionary payments were important factors in meeting the needs of the aged who were caught up in the changing economic and social circumstances of wartime. The work of the Board's officers was, in fact, an outstanding contribution to the social welfare of the aged, and they were able to develop a service that went far beyond the assessment of income and a series of cash payments. Their work put new content and meaning into our conception of a social welfare program for the aged citizens of Britain.

Under the new law, known as the National Insurance Act, 1946, scheduled for full operation in July, 1948, important changes have been made. Parliament felt, however, that it was so essential to make an immediate improvement in the incomes of old age pensioners that it agreed to sanction an advance installment as of October, 1946.

Since October, 1946, interim arrangements under the National Insurance Act have enabled men reaching sixty-five years of age to choose between continuing at work and drawing 10/- per week in pension (with 10/- in respect of a wife) and retiring from work and

drawing the higher rate (26/- and 16/1 for a wife), if sixty and retired, or sixty-five years of age and over. Please observe, too, that women qualify for the higher pension of 26/- a week on retirement at sixty. This is, from whatever aspect it is viewed, a fundamental change in the pension system, but it follows closely the main recommendations of the Beveridge Report and the White Paper of the Coalition Government.

The intention of the government in substituting retirement pensions for old age pensions is *inter alia* to encourage the aged "to stay at work where that is possible and desirable," and as an inducement to them to do so they are enabled by the act, after July, 1948, to earn a larger retirement pension for themselves. Thus for every six months they stay at work between the ages of sixty-five and seventy (men) or sixty and sixty-five (women) their retirement pension will be increased by 1/- a week. A married man who works regularly until seventy will be able to draw a pension of 36/- a week, while his wife will draw 26/- a week. This, it is thought, will be an incentive to continue regular work beyond the minimum pensionable age.

One other change will take effect in July, 1948, which may operate in an opposite direction. Those who reach sixty-five (men) or sixty (women) after July, 1948, will receive no pension (the old 10/- rate) if they continue to work; while if they retire and earn more than £1 from occasional work, the whole of the pension may be lost. This may operate to deter men and women from working beyond retirement age. The problem is whether the incentive after July, 1948, will be strong enough to encourage as many as possible who can work to do so rather than retire.

There is an important need, in the opinion of our social workers, to make better provision to meet the special housing requirements of the aged. The problem presents itself under two aspects: (1) the provision of suitable housing for older members of the community who are able, except during periods of temporary illness, to live normal and independent lives (these, in the opinion of the Rowntree Committee, constitute 95 percent of the aged); and (2) the provision of residential accommodations for the remaining 5 percent who need some degree of continuous care and attention.

I am here concerned, in the main, with those in the first group. Independence in their own homes, with their cherished possessions around them, is dear to the hearts of old people, and, in my con-

sidered opinion, proper housing provision combined with domestic help and, possibly, communal meals, would go far to make this a happy solution for the vast majority of elderly citizens.

British social workers have, therefore, stressed the fact that housing accommodations for old people must form part of the housing program of every local authority. Under present legislation it is not compulsory for local authorities in Britain to make this provision; although, in fact, an increasing number of them now recognize a moral obligation to do so as soon as labor and materials become available. The London County Council, for example, the largest municipality in the British Commonwealth, accepts this policy and is now making housing provisions for the aged. It plans to do much more in the coming years.

It was stated by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health in 1938 that of the 2,500,000 houses built since the first World War only 29,600 dwellings for old people had been built by the local authorities. This means that only one percent of the dwellings provided in Britain since 1919 were specifically designed for old people, who at the time constituted about 10 percent of the population. People of pensionable age will in 1949 constitute 13.5 percent of the population, so it is apparent how wide is the gap that needs to be filled. Now, although by the beginning of the second World War the number of dwellings provided for the aged had been increased to 48,000, the cessation of building operations during the war years coupled with the destruction wrought by enemy air action, as well as the increasing number of old people in the population, show the need for more dwellings.

There is another aspect of the housing problem of which we are mindful in Great Britain: an increased number of maisonettes or flats for the aged would free a certain number of large houses, which would then become available to rehouse homeless families. The Hornsey Borough Council, in the County of London, built thirty-four cottages consisting of one room, a large bed alcove with window, a kitchenette, bathroom, storage space, etc. Of the chosen tenants, six left six-room houses; eleven, five-room houses; eleven, four-room houses; and four, three-room houses. The other two had lost their homes as a result of enemy bombing. From these simple figures it will be readily seen that this construction not only brought extra

comfort to the older people at economical rents, but also released a certain amount of housing space for use by families.

It is essential that cottages, flats, and bungalows for the aged should be designed, located, and constructed with an eye to the varied needs of the people who will tenant them. It is vital that old people should not be segregated from the rest of the community. The tendency to plan old people's dwellings all together around a square or in an isolated *cul-de-sac* should, in my opinion, be watched with care; for the coming and going of younger neighbors, the daily pageantry of human life, are matters of much interest to elderly people. In Britain, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Works in their *Housing Manual* (1944) have provided model plans and guidance to local authorities on these important subjects of proper design, location, and relevant matters.

In Britain, as in so many European countries, the Christian Church has played an active part in past centuries in helping to care for the aged. The guilds and trading companies have shared the task. The contribution of these bodies to the solution of the housing needs of old people has in our country taken the form of providing almshouses, and it has been estimated that these accommodate at the present time twenty thousand old people. The quality of the dwellings varies greatly from old, dilapidated, unsanitary premises to excellently planned and well-built small dwellings. One outstanding merit of these schemes is that very often other forms of social aid and welfare services are associated with the provision of houses. The National Corporation for the Care of Old People, a body set up by the Nuffield Foundation in 1947 with the coöperation of the Lord Mayor's National Air Raid Distress Fund, is considering the possibility of making grants for the repair and reconstruction of a number of these almshouses.

Another suggestion which has attracted much interest in our country is the provision of more of the ingenious "plus Granny" flats. The idea is to provide a large room opening off an ordinary family dwelling. The room has its own front door, cooking, laundry, and bathroom facilities, so that, in fact, it is a self-contained dwelling. In such an apartment an old person can lead an independent life but is not cut off from the rest of the family, whose members are at hand to provide any necessary help or care.

A valuable contribution to solving the housing problem has been made by the conversion of large houses into homes for a group of old people. Such homes are intended to serve the aged who, while not bedridden, need more attention than they can receive in their own homes or in those of their relatives.

Experience has shown that, with careful management, a home for thirty-five or forty old people in receipt of old age pensions can be self-supporting once the house is equipped and set up as a going concern. Groups of this kind can form happy communities, although many of our social workers would prefer smaller groups. It is difficult to dogmatize on this matter of detail, since so many other factors enter into the success of these interesting experiments in communal living. Those who are interested will find an informative chapter on these homes in the pages of *Old People's Welfare*,[1] which contains valuable suggestions on such matters as the location, equipment, staffing, and financing of this type of group home.

In a few places in Britain, local authorities, voluntary bodies, and private citizens have arranged for the conversion of large houses into small rooms or flatlets which are then offered to old people at an agreed rental; there may or may not be communal facilities for cooking, laundry, recreation, etc.

The National Assistance Bill passed through the House of Commons in March, 1948. This bill is of historic importance, for it opens with the significant words: "The existing Poor Law shall cease to have effect."

I must restrict my discussion to that part of the bill which marks a further stage in the application of the doctrine of collective responsibility for the welfare and happiness of elderly people. While 95 percent of the elderly people of Britain live normal and independent lives, there are those who cannot continue in employment, and among them are many who are in need of care and attention which they are unable to obtain in their own homes or from friends or relatives. To these, the National Assistance bill seeks to bring further aid, but in such a way that their rightful claims to independence, freedom, and privacy are respected. This help will be available in future without regard to income. There will be no means test. The old workhouse

1 *Old People's Welfare* (2d ed.; London: National Council of Social Service, Inc., 1947), pp. 40–45. This is a veritable *vademecum* for those concerned with the working out of a practical welfare program for the aged.

will be abolished; and as an alternative to the large-scale institutions provided by the Public Assistance authorities in the past, the new local welfare authorities will be empowered to set up special homes with an optimum limit of twenty-five or thirty residents in any one of them.

Our Minister of Health, the Hon. Aneurin Bevan, envisages these homes as a type of residential hotel, and hopes that each will be known by its own name, as, for example, "High Mead" or "Low Mead" or "The Limes," or any other name so long as it does not imply anything of a drab, institutional character.

The elderly man or woman who resides in one of the new homes will pay the normal charges (the minimum rate prescribed is 21/- a week); if a man or woman is without the means to pay even this minimum charge, the National Assistance will enable them to do so and, at the same time, to retain at least 5/- a week for personal requirements.

It is estimated that in the next five years 20,000 additional beds will be necessary in England and Wales and 3,000 in Scotland to implement this program; but as the Minister of Health explained, the rate of progress in setting up these new homes for our elderly people will depend upon the development of the building program.

There has always been in Britain a good deal of social work amongst the aged undertaken by the churches, guilds, professional bodies, the Family Welfare Association, trade unions, and other social welfare organizations. It became apparent during the early years of the second World War that there existed a need for the coördination, strengthening, and publicizing of the many and varied contributions made by voluntary enterprise in this field; and so, in 1940, the National Council of Social Service set up the National Old People's Welfare Committee, which has now associated with it 165 local, eight county, and ten regional committees. The wise and practical work of the Committee in providing information, guidance, and advice to this nationwide network of associated local, county, and regional committees has been a major contribution to the task of creating better living conditions for the aged. The outcome of its activities is seen in the drawing together of statutory and voluntary organizations on the basis of an agreed program of social effort to assist old people; in the coöperation existing to implement this program at local, regional, and national levels; and in the creation of an enlightened

public opinion. The genius of the method has consisted in a combination of national advice and direction with full freedom for local initiative and action.

Because the local scene is so important to a clear understanding of the British approach to social work among the aged, I shall briefly outline the structure, policy, and work of a local Old People's Welfare Committee.

A local committee is constituted of representatives of the churches, local authority members and/or officials, trade unions, and the active religious, social, and welfare agencies. The mayor of the town is, as a general rule, the chairman; he is usually assisted by an honorary secretary and treasurer. The committee is nonofficial in the sense that it is not part of the government machinery and is dependent upon voluntary finance. The program undertaken by a local committee includes, as a general rule, some or all of the following services:

1. *Housing.*—An inquiry is made into the housing needs of the aged to ascertain what recommendations should be made to the local housing authority; and to provide the data necessary for any enterprise undertaken to set up a voluntary housing association or to provide directly a voluntary home for a group of elderly citizens.

2. *Visiting.*—Provision is made for a panel of visitors, if this work is not already being undertaken by other agencies. The visitors attached to the local committees are chosen with care and are carefully guided in their work. They pay visits to lonely old people, whether in institutions or in private homes, and perhaps perform small personal services. Each visitor is encouraged to become a personal friend of his client, and to avoid creating an atmosphere of almsgiving or patronage.

3. *Clubs.*—All who have come into close contact with elderly people know how intensely many of them suffer from loneliness. Experience in Great Britain has shown that clubs for elderly people give men and women opportunities to meet their contemporaries and help them to realize that they still have a place in the life of the community. There are now hundreds of such clubs in our cities, towns, and villages, and their combined membership is large. The clubs are sponsored by churches, community centers, the local Old People's Welfare Committee, the British Red Cross Society, the Women's Voluntary Service, and many other organizations.

4. *Communal meals service.*—One problem of old people is how

to secure meals for themselves. In our country the rationing of food and the necessity that sometimes exists to queue to obtain nonrationed foods make it difficult for old people to prepare adequate meals. Local experiments are being made in the provision of a communal meals service; there are seventeen such schemes in London at present, and others in the provinces.

In some places a room is set aside in a club, social settlement, or civic restaurant to serve as a lunch club, membership being open to anyone of pensionable age. The cost of the meal is kept as low as possible. The British Government passed through Parliament in 1947 the Civic Restaurant Act, which enables local authorities to operate a communal meals service available to all citizens in areas where such action is deemed necessary; while Clause 30 of the National Assistance bill, which reads as follows, "A local authority may make contributions to the funds of any voluntary organization whose activities consist in or include the provision of recreation or meals for old people . . . ," will, it is believed, make it possible for local authorities and leaders of voluntary enterprises to extend communal and mobile meals for the aged.

To assist the aged who are temporarily or permanently homebound, the British Red Cross, the Women's Voluntary Service, and local affiliates of the Old People's Welfare Committee have started an experimental mobile meals service. This enables a number of old persons to receive nourishing meals at a price they can afford, some daily and some on several days in the week. The meals are prepared at a civic restaurant, a factory canteen kitchen, or a similar center, and distributed to the aged clients by van. It is thought by our social workers that sick aged persons should receive one meal daily, but that, on the other hand, it is not wise to encourage able-bodied old people to rely on a daily service; a fair average would seem to be service on four days a week. This is, however, a point that must be decided in the light of local circumstances. An increased number of civic restaurants would, of course, make available to a large number of old people good balanced meals at reasonable prices.

One other aspect of this question should not be overlooked, namely, the effect of the better meals service in reducing the number of old people in our hospitals. At a conference held by the London Council of Social Service in 1947 an eminent medical man, Dr. Avery Jones, said that "between 10 and 15 percent of the admissions of

elderly persons to hospitals are not for any specific ailment, but need only rest, food, and medical supervision which could be provided at home." [2]

5. *Domestic help schemes.*—There is still another service for the aged which our experience has shown to be most useful, namely, a home-help service. This provides for domestic aid to be given to old people in their own homes, in housecleaning, bed-making, and cooking. In areas where such schemes operate, the aged are enabled to continue an independent life when otherwise they would have to enter a hospital or a home. This plan was first tried out by voluntary welfare agencies in several places, two of the best known being operated by councils of service—one at Finchley, in London, and the other at Plymouth.

The service is likely to be much more widely developed by public authorities in the near future. The way has been prepared by administrative action in recent years. In December, 1944, the Ministry of Health authorized local authorities to extend their home-help schemes to include the sick or infirm whether they were incapacitated through old age or otherwise. Then, in June, 1946, a further directive was issued under which full-time, paid organizers could be appointed and clerical assistance employed, always assuming, of course, that the scheme was large enough to justify such service. In the course of 1948 these schemes will be incorporated into the new pattern of health service upon which the government is now at work.

The voluntary social agencies in Great Britain, operating by means of the network of Old People's Welfare Committees, and aided by local councils of social service, community associations, and citizens advice bureaus, are providing a valuable service of information and advice which is, of course, available to the aged as well as to other citizens. It is now widely appreciated that the new social services must be adequately publicized if they are to be readily available to the people; and this is especially true of the social services provided by the State or voluntary agencies on behalf of aged citizens. The local affiliates of the Old People's Welfare Committee have done much to help in this matter. The churches, the press, the cinema, and the radio could do much more, however, to make known in simple and clear language the scope and variety of the statutory services, as well

[2] *The Nutritional Needs of the Aged.* A report published by the London Council of Social Service.

as the auxiliary provision in the way of clubs, homes, meal services, and other facilities supported by voluntary agencies. A more imaginative and better planned publicity drive is needed to educate public opinion on the social needs of the aged and to interpret the experimental work now being so widely undertaken to meet them.

It is the right of every able-bodied aged person to remain a producer so long as he or she is able and willing to work. The Rowntree Committee's survey in five areas in 1945 showed that the working age limit for many elderly persons may now be nearer seventy-five than sixty-five for men, and nearer seventy than sixty for women. Further, wartime experience in Europe has shown that the older workers in industry, trade, and administration are able to make valuable contributions.

In Great Britain, as we have noted, the vast majority of the aged live independent lives in their own homes or in those of their children, and are able to work far beyond the pensionable age and so earn their livelihoods in normal ways. On this point the testimony of H. Fieldhouse, Secretary of the Assistance Board, is clear. He told a conference called in London, in November, 1946, by the National Old People's Welfare Committee:

> The idea of welfare has caught on so strongly that there is a danger of falling into the fallacy that the bulk of the population of pensionable age are infirm and helpless. After all, the pension age is only 60 for women and 65 for men, and it is quite wrong to think of all old people above those ages as worn out. The majority of them are mentally and physically no more than middle age and are quite capable of looking after themselves. Some are capable of continuing in regular employment and they should be encouraged to do so.

It is significant too, that the Minister of National Insurance, the Hon. James Griffiths, informed the House of Commons that, of the 7,000 old age pensioners who become eligible for the old age pension each week no less than two-thirds continue in employment. This is to be welcomed, in the first place, on human grounds, because, as we all know, we are better in body and mind if we are able to follow the rhythm of a normal life; in the second place, the elderly men and women who are able to continue their work constitute a welcome addition to the country's labor force.

These facts show the need for further investigation and research into the part elderly workers can reasonably be expected to play in

the productive system of each country, and whether we should not now revise our old conception and practice of compulsory retirement because a man or woman has reached an arbitrarily fixed age. Further, where retirement may be necessary on account of the nature or special requirements of certain types of employment, there would seem to be a strong case for training displaced aged persons for new work. An American physician, Dr. Martin Gumpert, has urged an educational program for elderly people as an "integral part of adult education." He adds, "It is nonsense, an allegation long contradicted by experience. . . . to say that old people are incapable of learning." [3]

The facts cited herein and the arguments advanced point to the need for further medical, sociological, and psychological research into the problems of senescence. This is essential if we are to win for men and women, not only a longer span of life, but more opportunity to practice the art of living. This is the adventure upon which we have entered in undertaking to plan and carry through a social welfare program for the aged.

[3] Cited in *The Aged and the Nation* (London: Liberal Publication Department, 1948), p. 15.

THE GROUP AS AN INSTRUMENT IN TRAINING FOR DEMOCRACY

By Bryn J. Hovde

WITH NO OTHER PROBLEM are we so rightly concerned in this postwar period as with the preservation and perfection of democracy, for never has democracy been more dangerously threatened. Unless the forces now operating throughout the world which endanger it, either by direct attack or by the obfuscation of its essence, are overcome we may lose the fruit of centuries of progress.

For a very long time the concept of democracy has been progressively enriched, both throughout the Western world and in the United States. The Declaration of Independence, to be sure, was a ringing, forthright statement of democratic ideals which we have not even yet fully achieved, and the Constitution of the United States contains the framework within which a truly ultimate form of democracy might, with progressive evolution, be achieved. But these early statements were far ahead of the practice then current. The Declaration of Independence was broad enough to make the institution of Negro slavery seem incongruous even in 1776. Nevertheless, it persisted until 1863. The Constitution of the United States and the constitutions of the thirteen states which first adopted it, did not go so far as the Declaration of Independence in proclaiming and practicing the principle of universal suffrage; but gradually throughout the succeeding years we have moved toward the realization of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. We have extended and rendered more secure those rights of the individual which were laid down in the Bill of Rights, though we have not even yet completely achieved them in practice. We have slowly but surely been working toward giving to everyone who can work the opportunity of full employment at decent rates of pay. And we have adopted social legislation which removes at least the most extreme suffering from the hazards of existence.

Concurrently with this development in America, and partly as its result, the same developments have been taking place throughout

the world, particularly the Western world. Some countries have developed democracy to an even farther point than we. And this evolution of democracy, combined with, and partly based upon, science and technology, has given rise to an attitude familiarly known as "the idea of progress." We have become accustomed to the idea of progress and regard it as normal. Progress has actually occurred in all the ages of man, but at no time so much nor so quickly as under the influence of democratic ideals. In these latter years, however, circumstances have developed which seriously threaten democracy, first and foremost in Europe but now even somewhat among ourselves. It is for us and our children so to arrange our minds and our lives that progress may be continued toward an even more perfect form of democracy. We are at a crisis, and a crisis implies the possibility both of retrogression and of progress, for a crisis is a turning point.

As we read the daily press we may be tempted to think that the ideological contest of today lies between communism and free enterprise. If we wish democracy to survive and develop we must not allow ourselves to be caught in this ideological vise. Both present-day communism and present-day free enterprise are myopic in argument. Communism is the authoritarian methodology for the solution of essentially Russian problems. Free enterprise is the traditional doctrine of the favored elements in the American and some Western European countries. But democracy is more fundamental than either ideology. It embodies some of both but goes far beyond either of them. Democracy is an intense and personal conviction expressing itself in respect for the individual personality regardless of economic status, race, religion, or sex. Democracy involves recognition of the equal rights of every group and every people simply because they consist of human beings and "all men are created free and equal." Democracy also involves the acceptance of social organization and social action, not as an alternative way of life, but as one of the basic facts of life without which human society could not exist. Under democracy the State exists to protect the individual and promote his welfare under all the freedom that is compatible with the equal freedom of all.

Individuals are trained for democracy by a variety of instrumentalities, not the least of which is the group. The principals of these instrumentalities are the family, formal education, and the church. A most fluid and flexible instrument in training for democracy, how-

ever, remains the group, for the group can take any desired form. It has no rigid pattern, which is perhaps also one of its weaknesses, for without pattern or rigid form it is difficult to achieve unity of purpose and compelling conviction. The collective action of individuals in groups is inevitable, but it behooves those who assume the responsibility of group leadership, especially when they are organized as here by interest and profession, to achieve a basic democratic purpose which gives unity and direction to group activity and consciously employs the group in the support of democracy.

The family is perhaps the original and basic social unit. One might even, in a sense, call it a group, although the tradition of paternal dominion is often so powerful as to vitiate democracy at this very first stage of its possible development. In the family the individual is created and is given his first and basic development as a personality. Here the immutable forces of heredity find their expression, forever conditioning the future development of the individual and even, to no small extent, his relationships with other individuals. In the bosom of the family, furthermore, the future member of society is conditioned by his first and most important environment. It is obvious, therefore, how fundamentally important the family is in the development of the democratic man and his ideals, and how essential it is in a democratic society to give the family the best possible opportunities and the most democratic character. Families, however, by virtue of their relatively small size, are almost as diverse in quality and in culture as individuals. A higher degree of uniformity, expressing itself in homogeneity of cultural background, is obviously an important goal. The family of today can be vastly improved, but only as its members grow and attain adult status. Here the group becomes superlatively important, for it must supplement and remedy the errors of the other instrumentalities in training for democracy.

In the same way, the group can supplement and correct formal education. There the individual gets the basic tools of knowledge with which to live and a set of more or less abstract ideals that are supposedly of value to democratic society. But formal education too, as we know too well, is tainted with some conspicuous failures of democracy. Policy is determined in our formal education at a comparatively high level and tends to perpetuate the way of life of the dominant elements. The dominant elements are often undemocratic

and generally insufficiently democratic. The formal school system at every level tends to continue this element of undemocracy, either by direct indoctrination or by the avoidance of controversial democratic issues. Another but perhaps less culpable characteristic of the formal school system is its highly regimented and disciplined character. Teachers, particularly in small communities, are compelled to conform strictly in their personal lives to the mores of the dominant popular segment, often to the detriment of their democratic instincts. It is held to be necessary to exercise a considerable amount of control over pupils in the interest of classroom order. This is not to say that disorder is preferable; but perhaps it is possible to achieve order by more democratic processes than a virtually military rule. Evidence of this is to be found in some of the better contemporary trends, as in progressive education, and I am not unconscious of the fact that many teachers are struggling independently and bravely to make the school a constant lesson in democracy. Formal education does its best to impart to children and to youth what is generally called "character," without which human beings cannot well live together. But character is developed, not primarily by preachments, but by experience in daily social life. The school does its best and achieves considerable results; but the group affords a continuing medium for the supplementation of what the school gives the individual and the correction of its errors, particularly in affording the individual the freedom and the living practice that the school does not.

To be properly effective as an instrument in training for democracy, however, the group itself needs to be considered. Not all groups are necessarily good training centers for democracy, as we have had somber occasion to realize in these last few years. There will always be groups, some useful to democracy and some distinctly harmful. Whether democracy can prohibit or eliminate groups that are injurious to itself, such as the Ku Klux Klan, is at least open to very serious question. But what is not open to question is the absolute necessity of encouraging and promoting groups, such as the American Friends Service Committee, and many others, which are definitely and positively helpful to the evolution and practice of the democratic ideal. Actually, most groups are colorless so far as their being instruments for training in democracy is concerned, though obviously almost any group that operates on the principles of Robert's *Rules of Order* is to some extent educative in democratic procedures.

What we are considering are groups formed under the leadership of, or with the participation of, social workers. These groups, therefore, are to be considered as consciously planned and definitely purposeful, and their function is deliberately democratic. I am not flattering the profession of social work. I am simply stating a fact when I say that no other profession is more honestly and sincerely imbued with the crying need of our time to sustain the democratic process and realize the ultimate benefits of a dynamic democracy.

Social workers may be presumed to be interested in organized society as well as in individual casework and individual therapy. Social group work and casework are not two divergent points of view within the profession of social work. They are rather the two sides of the same coin, separate only for the purpose of the application of two distinct methods but inseparably united for the good of the individual in society. Every social worker knows that it is impossible to treat the individual as though he were only an individual, for the individual exists in society and is affected in all that he does and all that he thinks by the fact of belonging to the human race, and by the further fact of belonging inescapably to some smaller group composed of his own environment. The individual cannot be well, nor well adjusted, without reference to those with whom he must inevitably adjust. Hence the health of society and the democratic nature of the immediate group to which the individual belongs become inevitably the concern of every social worker. Yet even social workers will do a better job with the group if they possess clearly formulated democratic objectives. Mere activity without conscious purpose, at least on the part of group leaders, is of questionable value in the utilization of the group. We must know what we wish to do with the group and what purpose and direction we wish the group to serve. Hence the best group for the purpose of democracy is that which is so composed as to present the individual with most of the problems of democracy at each level.

The ideal components of such a group are easily described but not always so easily collected. In the first place, the ideal group should contain representatives of various economic and social conditions. How difficult it is in every instance to achieve such representation is obvious. People tend very much to segregate themselves on this basis, especially by residence. The rich associate with the rich and the poor with the poor, and between these two extremes there are many grada-

tions, each more or less exclusive of the other. The great disparity of wealth in this country, resulting from the high degree of economic freedom that we have been able to permit ourselves, has encouraged the outlook of the social climber. Though professedly people with admiration for talent only, and though practically all of us have sprung from the common aristocracy of labor, we greatly love distinction and feel insecure when not within our own economic classes. The very fact that social status depends so much upon money and so little upon function and personality contributes, since money may be easily lost, to a sense of danger and insecurity, and therefore produces a desire, especially on the part of people with property, to confine their associations to their own kind. Therefore, a very conscious effort must be made if the group is to contain representatives of various economic and social conditions. Considering how necessary to democracy it is to establish a sense of human unity, it is imperative that these divisions be broken down as far as possible. It would seem wise, therefore, in forming the ideal group, to get a small, tight core of diversely situated people in each group who will view democracy as their mission, according respect to the members of the group, not on the basis of economic and social distinction, but on the basis of human values. With such a consciously democratic group should then be associated others who need to be convinced. If that can be done the sense of democracy will increase.

It is peculiar to America that we have in our midst representatives of various nationalities. To a considerable extent these nationalities tend to herd themselves together for protection against so-called "native American" elements which pride themselves on the length of their habitation in this original land of the Indians. The process of assimilation of national immigrant groups has continued throughout all American history and is operative today. It will continue until the various national groups more or less lose their distinctive character and merge themselves into a distinctly American type. This is an inevitable historical process, and groups should be representative of various nationalities in order to allow it to occur smoothly and without friction. But there is another reason why the ideal group should contain representatives of the various nationalities. Each such group is the bearer of cultural values of enormous significance. America will profit from the absorption of these cultural values. In many respects it may even be deplored that as time passes we must look

forward to the disappearance of distinctively national groups amongst us, for culture evolves through its divergencies and idiosyncracies, and uniformity is not the most vital condition of culture. Finally, in this dire crisis of the world when nations must unite in order to live or face the probability of separate extinction, it is good in America that we have the opportunity to make of every little group a small United Nations. Thus Americans will achieve respect for other nations and other peoples and become a better instrument for the historic responsibility that time and circumstances have imposed upon us.

If it is good in an ideal group to include representatives of various economic and social conditions and various nationalities, it is equally important to include representatives of various religions and races. Although in our constitutional law we make no distinction between religions and keep the State separate from the Church, the power of the original Puritan tradition, more lately supplemented by the power of the Catholic Church, has made of us a predominantly Christian community. Thus non-Christian religions are at a serious disadvantage so far as our dominant ideals are concerned. The great predominance of the Christian viewpoint has led to no small degree of intolerance of those who are not Christians, however ancient and however humanly sincere such other religions may be. And thus our religious viewpoints predispose us somewhat to failure in democracy. Against this we must guard ourselves consciously and deliberately, and the group can contribute to democracy by the degree to which it consciously strives to overcome religious exclusiveness.

What I say of religious minorities applies with equal force to racial minorities, the largest of which in the United States is the Negro. There is no greater test of American democratic sincerity than our attitude toward the Negro. Hence in any ideal group, striving to perfect and realize democratic principles, Negroes and persons of other color should by all means be included. In this matter we are charged, not only with a great human duty, but with a very specific responsibility peculiar to the world of today. Historical reasons and circumstances have so far enabled the white man to dominate the world. But the continuation of the same history will gradually deprive him of that favored position. All over the world the colored races are gradually achieving the knowledge and the instruments of power hitherto possessed only by the whites and are building themselves up to a position where the dominion of the white man must certainly

cease. The white man is but one in ten in the population of the world. Hence our descendants must look forward to a time when, at best, they will be fortunate to enjoy a position of equality with the colored races. That equality we must establish among ourselves, particularly we Americans who have such a large minority of colored people in our midst. The ideal of human equality should be sufficient for us, and the group of which we speak must be deliberately designed to achieve the fullness of democracy also in the matter of race.

Not only in its composition, but particularly in its work and in its processes is the group important to the growth and preservation of democracy. Many groups will continue to have as their principal function that of indoctrination in some particular point of view. Their right to this kind of activity cannot be questioned under democracy, but groups deliberately designed as instruments of training in democracy must generally proceed on other principles. The truly democratic processes in education must there be realized. This is essentially the process of objective discussion and experimentation. Nothing is more truly democratic than the scientific process, in which hypotheses are accepted or rejected on the ground of reasonableness. It is truly democratic, furthermore, to conduct experimentation on the basis of accepted hypotheses for the purpose of testing their validity. Experimentation is experience, and scientific experimentation is deliberate and controlled experience. It is the experience of people with each other, however divergent they may at first seem to be, which is basic to all democracy. Such group experimentation requires leadership of a high order. Leadership in such a group must manifest itself primarily in the absence of prejudice, basic democratic conviction, reasonableness, and courage.

The group ideally composed of diverse elements and committed to the philosophy of learning by experience must, furthermore, be vital enough to act with purpose. Mere association and mere opportunistic activity will not be found sufficient if the group is to be truly an instrument for training in democracy. A valid program of activity, however, is not necessarily a declaration of principles or a blueprint. It will develop best around specific and concrete objectives peculiar to the environment and the mental content of the group. But unless these objectives have reality and the possibility of actual achievement they will serve neither to keep the group organized nor to afford training in democracy. For democracy is something to be lived, some-

thing to be reconquered every day, something the results of which can be apparent in practical life. Out of simple, ordinary, everyday activities directed to the solution of commonplace problems, members of the group acquire deep and earnest, though not always eloquently expressed, philosophical convictions.

These few words are insufficient properly to delineate the enormously varied possibilities of employing the group as an instrument in training for democracy. But I hope that they may arouse your imaginations so that each and every one, as he goes about his daily task, may seize the opportunities that lie about. For if America shall exercise the leadership in the world that is required to order it for the good of all, we must prove to all the world that we can order our own life dynamically to achieve what Lincoln meant by "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

LIMITATIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERT

By Marver H. Bernstein

In 1930 Harold J. Laski wrote an essay for the Fabian Society, published in this country by *Harpers Magazine,* which he called "The Limitations of the Expert." Laski was anxious to emphasize the problem of the expert in our complex modern world. He concluded that the expert can supply the citizen and ruler with the raw materials necessary for making a final decision, but he cannot do the thinking for the citizen. In a democratic society the citizen cannot abdicate his responsibility for making judgments on the basis of the relevant facts. But neither can a democracy suffer in ignorance because of failure to utilize the knowledge and skills of the specialists. Laski was fearful that democracy would soon transform itself into tyranny if we allowed the experts to run society. "We must ceaselessly remember," he concluded, "that no body of experts is wise enough, or good enough, to be charged with the destiny of mankind."

Laski's reservations about the uses and abuses of *expertise* have been more or less shared by A. D. Lindsay, who has written the most notable treatise in general political theory since 1925. Like Laski, Lindsay would like to see the expert "on tap" but not on top. According to Lindsay, experts "do not like being told that the shoes they so beautifully make do not fit. They are apt to blame it on the distorted and misshapen toes of the people who have to wear their shoes." But Lindsay also concludes that "sound judgment" or "common sense" are not the "products of ignorance" and that ordinary, plain people do not have access to a source of certain wisdom which is denied to the expert.

Both Lindsay and Laski have urged that a democratic society cannot run the risk of permitting the expert's judgment to be final. Their views, it seems to me, are also applicable to the more immediate problem of the role of the expert in the day-to-day administration of public and private enterprise.

Laski's indictment of the expert may be summarized as follows: [1]

1. The expert tends to sacrifice "the insight of common sense to the intensity of his experience." Frederick W. Taylor, whose work in scientific management is well known, was so concerned with reaching the maximum output of pig iron per man per day that he came to regard the worker simply as a machine for the production of pig iron, with the result that he never won the consent of the workers which was essential to the success of his work. Again, businessmen prophesied the rapid breakdown of Russian communism because it had eliminated the profit-making motive which experience had taught them was at the root of Western civilization.

2. The expert dislikes the appearance of novel views. Here we need only refer to the universal reluctance of the military to accept new types of warfare or new weapons; or to the great opposition encountered by scientists like Darwin, Jenner, Pasteur, Lister, and Mendel to new ideas. In each of these cases, novelty was fatal to a perception of its importance. In social matters, where measurement is infinitely more difficult, the expert is entitled to far less assurance.

3. The expert too often fails to see his results in the proper perspective. Many psychologists fail to see that intelligence tests cannot form the sole basis for conclusions on aptitude and mental capacity. Glittering generalities are all too often a too simple analytical framework.

4. The expert may develop a dangerous caste spirit. Doctors, particularly, are notorious for their inability to see the light from without. It is the rare expert who welcomes criticism of his profession from men who do not practice it. As Laski says, "There is, in fact, no expert group which does not tend to deny that truth may possibly be found outside the boundary of its private Pyrenees." For example, in Great Britain great military organizers like Haldane were able to achieve success only in spite of the strong opposition of the professional soldiers.

5. The expert is so immersed in routine that he lacks flexibility of mind on matters outside his special field. Laski believes that the inflexibility of the expert stems from his difficulty in understanding the plain man. The plain man is too often a mere unit in a statistical table for the administrative expert. It apparently takes a person of the stature of a Jane Addams to retain a sense of the humanity of the

[1] The following section is a paraphrase of Laski's essay.

poor in the face of the poor man's indignation at the social worker.

6. The expert frequently tends to develop a condescension toward the plain man. In the United States, some highly placed civil servants may think of members of Congress merely as ignorant impediments to their work. Professional economists have only recently recognized that trade unions can contribute to an understanding of industrial phenomena. The real danger is that the more expert a man is, the more he is immersed in daily routine, and the less he will know of the life about him. Laski concludes that "the expert . . . remains expert upon condition that he does not seek to coördinate his specialism with the total sum of human knowledge. The moment that the expert seeks that coördination, he ceases to be an expert." An engineer or a lawyer who, as President of the United States, tried to operate in terms of his particular specialism would cease to be an expert. What is needed for the direction of affairs is not an expert technique, but a balanced equilibrium. "It is knowledge of how to use men, a faculty of judgment about the practicability of principles. It consists not in the possession of specialised knowledge, but in a power to utilize its results at the right moment, and in the right direction."

Laski sums up his own analysis in this fashion: "*Expertise* consists in such an analytic comprehension of a special realm of facts that the power to see that realm in the perspective of totality is lost. Such analytic comprehension is purchased at the cost of the kind of wisdom essential to the conduct of affairs." The expert's difficulty is that he lives as an expert in a very small division of human knowledge and tends to make the principles of that branch of knowledge a cosmic framework for yielding answers and solutions for all problems and questions.

The formulation of policy and the administration of affairs require a sense of proportion which the expert all too often lacks completely. Experts who are bound up intensely in their particular specialism have an "intensity of experience" which destroys their sense of proportion. As Laski suggests, a conference of admirals rarely produces progress in thinking about the use and limitations of the aircraft carrier. Meetings of bar associations seem to produce legal retrogression rather than legal progress. The recent vote of member doctors of the British Medical Association against the government's scheme of socialized medical care reflects at least partially the inability of the expert to look outside his area of *expertise* in order to

understand the general situation. Too frequently the expert is no judge of what can be done with the results obtained in a special discipline.

The expert's role may be looked at from two points of view. In the first place, an important consequence of expertness is failure to grasp the temper of the public mind. The expert tends to push his private cures for social ills without reference to popular wants and desires. He mistakes technical results for social wisdom. In short, he lacks contact with the plain man. He does not know what the plain man is thinking and he rarely cares. He does not know how to meet the prejudices of the plain man and has never learned how to persuade men to accept something which they only half understand. Laski concludes that some go-between is required to transform the conclusions of the expert into a policy which will not affront the common sense of the public. The basic task of the statesman and the administrator is to act as this go-between, to indicate the limits of the possible, to measure what can be done with the resources of men, money, and materials at his disposal. The successful administrator is one who has developed the art of handling men without becoming absorbed in their specialized experience. He is able to coördinate the various specialties of his expert staff into something approaching a coherent policy and program. The statesman and administrator, in this bureaucratic world of experts, acts as a broker of ideas to bridge the gap between the expert and the people.

In the second place, the expert is rarely the best judge of the results of policy. The consequences of policy must appeal above all to the plain, average man. The people who live by the results of policy are those whose judgment about the wisdom of policy ultimately matters. Too frequently the expert dismisses the plain man as ignorant and incapable of having a legitimate judgment or point of view. He frequently forgets that although the plain man does not understand the principles of highway engineering, he certainly is capable of making judgments about the quality of the road over which he drives his car.

It is not necessary to accept completely Laski's analysis of the relation between experts and plain men in application to the administration of public affairs. If his indictment of the expert is more or less justified, it offers a ringing warning to those who are in a fair way to becoming experts in some division of knowledge. Even if Laski's

thesis is rejected, an examination of contemporary politics would supply enough examples to establish the hypothesis that the expert does sacrifice a sense of proportion as well as humility to his intense preoccupation with his own specialism.

Perhaps the outstanding illustration of the expert's humiliating disregard of the plain man is the growing military influence on our National Government. We face today the great danger that social and economic policy may be considered almost exclusively in terms of national security, in which military experts become the judges of what is wise and necessary. The military expert's narrow specialism has begun to do duty as a cosmic outlook on life. A clear illustration of this growing influence is the current attempt of the armed forces to impose censorship on our information media in the interests of national defense.

In 1947 the armed forces made several efforts to restrict publication of government information, especially of military information. No doubt, sincere and patriotic men have been seriously worried about handing out information of military significance to the Russians. Unfortunately, many of these men have little understanding of the role of the press in a democratic society; and some military men would welcome a system to control unfavorable criticism of the military. Presumably, the desire for censorship stems from dissatisfaction with present facilities for maintaining security with regard to military information. Unfortunately, however, a number of incidents have raised some questions about the complete good faith and good judgment of the military in censorship matters.

Correspondents in Japan have criticized General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander, for presenting a highly colored picture of his operations and for discouraging criticism of his occupation policy. The correspondents apparently have not been able to get any facts considered unfavorable to the General. There is no question that the military's fear of the press and resentment of criticism have restricted the flow of information in Japan. As the experts on military matters, the military men insist that the publication of information of a technical, military, semimilitary, or political character would have disastrous effects on national security. Behind the drive for censorship we can glimpse the unvaried military assumption that freedom of the press is an expendable democratic freedom which

must be subordinated to the needs of national security as determined by the experts in such matters, the military men.

In regard to information and the problem of secrecy, the military have committed two great errors which are characteristic of the expert mentality. First, they have an exaggerated view of what information does affect and what information does not affect the national security. Secondly, they have assumed that the cure lies outside their own organization rather than inside.

The military departments themselves could do a great deal to safeguard vital information. They need to look to their own operations for most of the remedies and protections. Too often in the past the classification of information as "confidential," "secret," and "top secret" has been used to hide errors and mistakes of omission and commission of government agencies. In this way strategic government agencies have in a sense discredited their own security measures.

More difficult to erase is the attitude maintained by the security agencies that anything they want to do is justified in terms of national security. For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has refused to reveal the source of its information in cases where Federal employees are accused of disloyalty. This position violates the basic premise of our democratic tradition which guarantees to the accused the right to confront the accuser and to examine the nature of the charges made against him. In addition, this procedure assumes that the FBI cannot make an error. Since the accused employee will have no opportunity to examine the evidence against him, we will never be able to test the FBI's assumption of infallibility. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the FBI is in a position to use its iron curtain of secrecy as a cloak, not only for poor workmanship, but for substituting hearsay and rumor for facts.

Another illustration of the effect of the dominance of the expert in public affairs concerns the role of the American Bar Association in seeking to change the conditions under which government agencies issue rules and regulations and make decisions. In the past fifty years perhaps the most significant institutional development in American government has been the growth of administrative regulation of segments of the economy by an increasing number of regulatory agencies. For the past twenty years or so, lawyers have called our attention to the rise of these agencies which allegedly threaten the

cherished values of American life. Since 1933 the American Bar Association has spearheaded a movement to "reform" the process of adjudication in regulatory agencies, first, by expanding the scope of judicial review of the decisions of administrative agencies, and second, by judicializing the practices and operations of the administrative agencies.

Doubtless much, if not most, of the opposition of the legal profession to the regulatory agencies reflects basic disagreement with the programs administered by these agencies under Congressional mandate. However, some of the lawyers' opposition to agencies like the Federal Communications Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission stems also from a deep-seated belief that the business of these agencies is really judicial in character and therefore ought to be performed by the courts. The lawyers generally argue that no administrative agency can deal out justice in deciding the rights of individuals under appropriate statutes and that only a judge acting in the judicial sanctuary can dispense justice according to the true principles of American law. Thus the lawyers' remedy for administrative injustice, whose existence is taken for granted, is to make the adjudication proceeding before an administrative body as courtlike as possible. The theory is that the traditional judicial safeguards should be ever present to prevent any miscarriage of justice. The lawyers have achieved some success thus far in judicializing the adjudication process.

Why has the American Bar Association worked so hard to turn the administrative agency into a courtroom? Perhaps the most important factor has been the opposition of the Bar to the extension of governmental controls over the economic order. However, a significant factor has been the tendency of the legal expert to impose his narrow *Gestält* of legal briefs, interlocutory judgments, long delays, and black-robed judges into the wider environment of day-to-day administration. Most lawyers tend to resent the process of administrative justice and to claim for the legal profession a monopoly in the dispensation of justice. Surely here is an instance in which the lawyer has sacrificed a sense of proportion and humility to the intensity of his expert experience. It has led the lawyers to adopt the preposterous position that lawyers, because of their expert training, have a monopoly in championing our liberties by insisting on judicial formalism as to method and procedure.

Any public enterprise, by definition, must deal with some segment of the public. Some large public enterprises, like the Tennessee Valley Authority, come into daily contact with thousands of people. Much of the success of such an agency depends on its ability to win the active consent of its public for the task it is trying to do. We have collected enough evidence to show that the typical expert in any field rarely has any notion of the importance of winning the consent of the governed. Moreover, since many varieties of expertness are required in most public enterprises, it is essential that the administrators at all levels in the enterprise have a facility for getting the various groups of experts to work as a team for the achievement of a common purpose which has the acceptance and support of the public most affected by the enterprise. No doubt the TVA has been able to survive repeated attacks partly because its administrators have been able to mold the work of its expert staff into a unified program which the people of the valley support.

In his book, *TVA: Democracy on the March,* David Lilienthal describes the various experts needed for the operation of the TVA: geologists, agronomists, chemists, architects, wood technicians, lawyers, accountants, etc. Lilienthal reports that:

> TVA for example once had on its staff a dendrologist, a man who had spent most of his adult life as an expert in the reading of tree rings. By examination of the rings of ancient trees he was able to throw some useful light on rainfall cycles and extreme floods far beyond the humanly recorded data on these matters. This expert saw the whole world in tree rings, almost literally.[2]

Lilienthal recognized that one of the great administrative problems of the TVA was to find experts who preferred to work, not in haughty isolation, but as part of a coördinated program. He reported, however, that,

> Even at best it is not easy for each specialist to appraise the relative importance of his own task as part of the whole picture, or its importance as compared with the tasks in some other technical branch. In fact the desperate part of the problem, as many people have observed, is the realization of how rarely these different groups of specialists seem to care about anything beyond their own specialties.
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> It is an ironic fact that the very technical skills which are ostensibly employed to further the progress of men, by the intensity of their special-

[2] David Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March* (New York: Pocket Books, 1945), pp. 73–74.

ization, create disunity rather than order and imperil the whole process of their common objective.[3]

One of the great problems which public administrators face is to decide what expert advice to take and what to reject. Lilienthal talks about the problems which the board of TVA faces when a dam is built and the waters of a man-made lake cover thousands of acres of land. How much land should TVA purchase? The engineer indicates what land will actually be under water when the dam is closed. But should land along the new shore line be purchased? The agricultural experts argue that farm land should not be flooded but used for growing crops. The recreation expert wants a strip of land along the entire shore line purchased for parks and playgrounds. The malaria-control expert wants water kept out of low areas to reduce mosquito breeding. The highway engineer wants to purchase lands which contain important access highways to the new dam and lake area. The power experts urge economy to protect the investment in electric power. The navigation expert wants land areas reserved for terminal and harbor facilities. And sometimes the archaeologist wants to preserve prehistoric remains in reservoir areas, and the finance expert is concerned about removing land parcels from the tax lists of local government units.

The problem faced by the TVA board in this case was not merely to compromise the views of the various experts, but to look at the situation as a whole and to decide "what course of action would yield the best results as judged by the common purpose, the goal of the whole undertaking—the well-being of the people of the region."[4]

My thesis is that one of the most essential tasks of the administrator in any public enterprise is to educate the various groups of experts on his staff as to the common purpose of the organization and to coördinate their efforts to achieve that common purpose. What the administrator requires is not the concept of administration as an *expertise* in itself, but an ability to handle relationships in broad terms. Paul Appleby has called it the quality of philosophy which does not embrace a set of absolutes and a technical logic, but which comprehends people's emotions as well as their rational judgments. This is a far cry from the concept of administration as an expert body of knowledge consisting mainly of a set of skills and techniques, like reporting, accounting, budgeting, and drawing neat symmetrical

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

squares on an organization chart. The administrator must supply that element which fuses the work of his expert staff into a coherent program in the public interest. He needs the tools of management to do the job properly, but the tools in themselves yield no answers to the troublesome matters of policy and operation.

The expert in administration, like experts in other professional fields, tends to exaggerate the importance of his skills—the skills of management. He usually fails to note the limitations of his tools. He seeks to apply them in some uniform and impersonal fashion to matters which require variable treatment. He frequently strives to tailor the program of his agency or institution to the set pattern of administration suggested by his inflexible tools and skills. He is apt to insist on organizational patterns which satisfy his expert judgment but which fail to facilitate the achievement of the organization's basic objectives. He is inclined to regard system and red tape as sacred and inviolate even though they may add little to, or actually detract from, the administrative process. He tends to emphasize administration as structure rather than process. He hopes to achieve efficiency by depersonalizing administrative action. He fails to understand the necessity for staff teamwork. In the last analysis, programs and agency objectives become mere vehicles for the practice of the "science" of administration. The tail wags the dog in supreme confidence that all the principles of administrative science have been rigidly applied and that efficiency of operation will surely and inevitably follow.

The expert in some professions, such as law, medicine, engineering, public health, or social work, has similar limitations which have important effects upon the administration of a public enterprise. The expert doctor does not become by virtue of his expertness a great source of wisdom about the public's requirements for medical care or about the life about him. Nor does the social work expert by virtue of his *expertise* acquire a superior right to make final judgments about the proper elements of an adequate standard of living or about the architecture of a state institution for the feeble-minded. The expert in medicine or social work remains expert, as Laski suggests, only upon "the condition that he does not seek to coördinate his specialism with the sum total of human knowledge." Unfortunately, professional experts all too frequently insist that wisdom and knowledge are the private property of their particular *expertise*.

It is particularly important for American students and practitioners

of administration to be aware of the limitation of the expert in administering public enterprises. In the United States, governmental developments have tended to be empirical and pragmatic instead of being founded on any single, comprehensive philosophical conception. Our great achievements seem to lie in rather highly specialized fields of endeavor. We have tended to glorify the specialist and designate those who strive for a broader comprehension of public affairs as dreamers and amateurs. We have exalted things over concepts and theories. These tendencies as applied to the practice of administration must be reversed in order to make room for the generalist administrator with a capacity for fitting the parts into a meaningful whole, a whole which is something more than the mere sum of its parts.

Perhaps the best safeguard against the shortcomings of professional and administrative expertness in public undertakings lies in relating the problems of administration constantly to the subject matter environment from which they arise. We need to be on guard lest administration or the pursuit of some *expertise* becomes an end in itself. Administration as such has only warped meaning apart from its substantive content and the programs which it serves. We can avoid the pitfalls of both professional and administrative expertness by acquiring sufficient humility to recognize that no single area of human knowledge or discipline can supply the answers to problems of public and private government.

In the long run, the worth of any organization is the worth of the individuals composing it. The organization which subordinates its objectives and goals to a little more administrative skill, whether real or apparent, will only dwarf its staff members. Like John Stuart Mill, we must conclude that "with small men no great thing can really be accomplished; and that the perfection of machinery to which [the organization] has sacrificed everything, will in the end avail it nothing, for want of the vital power which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly, it has preferred to banish."

SHOULD THE ADMINISTRATOR BE AN EXPERT?

By Wayne Vasey

THE IDEA OF LIMITING THE EXPERT has a widespread appeal. Many fears are expressed regarding the danger of placing too much power in the hands of the specialists. We may nod in sage agreement as we hear warnings of the danger of giving the lawyer, the militarist, *et al.*, too much administrative control. But we may well examine our own profession, social work, to ascertain whether we too belong in the select but dangerous company of experts whose unchecked power may defeat the democratic process.

Why are we so anxious to put the expert in his place? I believe that the following general attitudes help to explain this prevailing desire:

1. Our exaltation of "plain people" and our glorification of common sense as an attribute which may be possessed by all of us
2. Latent hostility toward the complex administrative machinery in which the expert functions
3. Resentment of the technical language of the specialist, frequently construed as "stuffiness"
4. Fear that the people are losing control of government as it threatens to become too involved to permit the direct and effective expression of the consent of the governed.

The fact that these attitudes are commonly held does not necessarily impair their validity. We might well examine our own field of competence to determine whether we have developed the insularity of which experts stand accused. Are we, as has been alleged, so "absorbed in specialized experience" that we have lost our capacity to meet situations in harmony with the "common sense of the public"?

To many people engaged in social work this seems unlikely. Faced by the constant need for public support, social workers would seem to be forced by circumstance to keep their thoughts and acts attuned to public opinion. The professional social worker is caught in the clash between urgent demands of situations he must meet and tra-

ditions which oppose measures to meet those demands. His program requires constant interpretation in terms acceptable to the public. He cannot fall back on the imminence of national peril to justify a monopoly of decision and power in his field. He has not, at least not yet, decked himself out in the trappings of glamour. Social workers, unlike the G-men, have not attained the status of inspiring small boys who like to wear badges.

The plain man sits in constant judgment on the acts of the welfare agency. No public welfare administrator has completed his life cycle if he has not at least once faced a committee of investigation. Because of the constant necessity for securing public understanding, it would seem that the social worker is in little danger of developing a caste spirit!

Unfortunately, I believe, there is such danger. Social workers are not immune to the risks of *expertise*. Like other groups, we have our professional associations, our state and national conferences, and the many other organizations in which we develop our own professional content. In the reassurance of these associations, in the time-consuming activities of expanding and intensifying our knowledge and competence, we may delude ourselves with the conviction that the welfare field is our exclusive province. Who else has taken the time to amass information necessary to successful practice in this field? As we clothe our concepts in our own terminology, we may feel that we have established a primary claim to these concepts. We need to remind ourselves constantly that in welfare administration we must provide what the people want. It is up to us to provide the facts, figures, and interpretation on which the public relies in establishing the scope and content of welfare programs.

But from many statements on the administrative responsibility, we may infer that the public needs the safeguard of a nonexpert in administrative posts, to protect the public from the zeal of the experts working in our agencies. It is stated that the administrator should be an expert neither in social work nor in the administrative process. He should be chosen, according to this point of view, solely on the basis of personal attributes and qualities of leadership.

Is this belief justified? Should it serve as the basis of choice of administrators? Should we consciously and deliberately shun the person steeped in subject matter knowledge of the social work field for the top agency positions? Is social work training to be treated as a

disqualification for the position of administrator? On the other hand, what advantages are there in providing people with backgrounds in social work practice for administrative positions?

These are questions of immediate and practical import to social work. They have significance in the determination of minimum requirements for the recruitment and selection of administrators. They are important to schools of social work and public administration as they seek to determine the most promising methods and content of programs for training people for careers in social work administration. They apply also to on-the-job training programs for administrators.

The answers to these questions hinge on the extent to which subject matter knowledge is needed to develop administrative competence for those in the top agency positions. My observations are based on experience in administration of public assistance programs. I believe, however, that the important aspects of the problem apply as well to other fields of social work administration, both public and private.

It is my belief that the administrator needs to know enough about social work to qualify as an expert in that field. I am convinced that the administrator who knows his program and who understands the service offered by his agency will be more effective in discharging the responsibilities of his job. I am fully aware of the difficulties in enforcing such a policy under present conditions. But I believe that these difficulties constitute a demand for more adequate training rather than an argument against social work competence in administrative posts.

Why should the administrator be schooled in the subject matter of social work more than in any of the other disciplines represented in his agency? He has researchers, accountants, attorneys, perhaps, and representatives of other fields of expertness working in his agency as well as social workers. Why, then, is there particular need for social work knowledge as a part of the equipment of the administrator?

I believe that the answer to that question lies in the fact that he is administering a social work program as well as making available a specific skill. Social work is the primary service offered by his agency. In this particular setting the other disciplines are facilitating services.

Within the agency every part of the process is related to the primary area of social service. The development of application procedures, the

provision of space for interviewing, the organization of supervisory facilities, the arrangement of records, the assignment of case loads, knowledge of the part to be played by other specialists—all are designed to make possible more effective social work. Knowledge of a service being rendered certainly is vital to the development of facilities which will realistically and effectively promote that service.

In staff relations and the development of in-service training, the administrator is the key person. He has professional social workers in positions of treatment responsibility in his agency. To be effective he must be a leader, not a ringmaster. To be a leader he must possess considerable knowledge of the field of competence of those with whom he is working. He will be effective as a leader to the degree that he understands the program and has the inspiration and security of a professional background.

The public looks to him for interpretation of program needs. He needs vision and consistency if he is to maintain progress. He requires the conviction that accompanies understanding. He must have the ability to make a case for agency needs in terms of the value of service to be rendered. When he faces a board or legislative body with the request for additional funds or staff, he will probably need all the program knowledge possible in order to answer searching questions regarding the validity of what he is trying to do. Why, he may be asked, does he need additional workers? What are they doing? What is the nature and value of the service that precludes success with case loads of 100 to 150? What is going on in his agency? What is its service doing to and for people? Halting, uncertain replies will jeopardize his success. Knowledge and conviction regarding the services for which he is presenting his case may well prove the difference between success and failure.

In his development of agency policy he must not be so weak and lacking in professional conviction that he sways with every errant breeze of reaction or innovation. He should be able to distinguish the mild whirlwind of occasional disapproval or misunderstanding from the monsoon of widespread public repudiation of his program. He needs the steadfastness of professional security to guide him through periods of uncertainty and unrest.

Many of the qualities of the successful administrator are personal attributes. Much of the specific content of knowledge of administration derives from experience on the job. The wisdom and balance

necessary to the responsibility will be developed primarily through experience, but that development will be furthered and strengthened by education in social work.

The importance of providing opportunities for social work training as a part of the background of administrators is vital to program development. It is the administrator who plays the primary role in setting the course of the program. Adding to his competence is worth all the time and effort required on the part of the profession in this inadequately developed area of training. The twofold task of improving training facilities in professional schools and in improving the subject matter content of training programs for those now on the job is well worth the time, study, and effort required.

In brief, I am suggesting that we need to augment the quality of common sense with the competence of knowledge. Perhaps by so doing we shall have humanized our expert in social work to the point that he has ceased to be an expert.

SKILLED STAFF TURNOVER IN A PRIVATE AGENCY

By Ludwig A. Graner

IN 1946 THE TURNOVER RATE of professional social workers employed by private social agencies in Cleveland was considered to be extremely high. Defining "turnover rate" as the ratio of the number of workers leaving in a given year to the number of workers employed at the beginning of the same year, the median turnover rate amounted to 40 percent in private casework agencies and to 29 percent in private social group work agencies. Some social group work agencies reported rates as high as 50 percent. When agency executives compared these figures with comparable turnover figures in the Cleveland educational system and found that the social workers' rate was about 400 percent higher than that of teachers, they proceeded to study the reasons for turnover in professional agency staffs in order to take steps to eliminate some of the causes. Thus the "Study of Turnover of Professional Social Work Personnel in Greater Cleveland" was undertaken and eventually published in May, 1947. While the study included both public and private agencies, this discussion will be limited to a private agency appraisal, primarily for private casework and social group work agencies.

The study period was limited to the thirty-four months from January 1, 1944, to October 31, 1946. Agencies applied their own definitions of a professional social worker, and they included case aides, visitors, investigators, group leaders, and instructors. Excluded were nursing and medical staffs, employees who worked less than two thirds of a work week, seasonal workers, and students doing field work for credit.

This special study, which was neither a salary study nor a general personnel study, yielded a number of interesting facts concerning the characteristics of workers who left and the reasons for their leaving. Three major classifications of "reasons for leaving" were established. The first classification covered "reasons about which little could be

done." This included such reasons as marriage, maternity, family responsibility, change in husband's location, poor health, dismissal, military service, and the decision to attend a school of social work. The second classification was called "professional advancement and higher salary" and was related to turnover caused by the desire for higher salary for the same type of work, for professional advancement, and for a more secure position. The third classification referred to "reasons which may be related to personnel practices." (A fourth classification was called "miscellaneous reasons.")

More than 50 percent of the male social workers were reported as having changed jobs for "professional advancement or higher salary." The corresponding figure for female social workers was approximately 20 percent. On the other hand, almost two thirds of the female workers left for "reasons about which little could be done," while only one third of the men fell into this classification (half of this one third left for military service, a reason eliminated since then). "Reasons which may be related to personnel practices" scored around 12 percent with little differentiation for men and women.

Those in the male group that left for professional advancement and higher salary were characterized by being married, by being predominantly practitioners, although quite a few supervisors and administrators left, by having stayed with their respective agencies for a relatively short period of time (half of them for less than two years), and by having attended graduate schools of social work, with about three fourths holding Master's degrees.

Those in the corresponding women's group were predominantly single. Like the men, about three fourths had Master's degrees in social work.

Some of these characteristics became less marked when considered for the total group regardless of the reason for leaving. Of the total female group, for instance, less than half of the group was single. Private casework contributed 75 percent to those with Master's degrees in the total turnover group, while private social group work showed a majority of those who were only college graduates.

These figures lend themselves to the following speculations:

1. The field of private social work may have to reconcile itself to the realization that, in its larger segment, the female group, almost two out of three workers leave their positions for "reasons about which little can be done." Among these reasons, marriage, maternity, family

responsibilities, and husband's changed location rank high. In the instance of female caseworkers, their investment in social work education does not make them more immune to leaving social work than those who have not made that investment.

2. Male social workers, most of whom are married, have to attach more significance to higher salaries than do women. The resignations of many men could have been prevented if opportunities for professional and salary advancement within the agency had been available. While well-trained male practitioners are bound to separate often and at an early stage of their employment, the well-paid male social worker on the supervisory and administrative level presents a relatively low turnover risk since he is only occasionally subjected to "reasons about which little can be done."

3. A national competitive market for well-trained professional workers makes agencies lose their skilled staff unless the workers are protected by satisfactory personnel practices and salary opportunities. Thus it becomes almost inevitable that the employment of highly trained workers, although indispensable for the efficient functioning of private agencies, contains the very seed out of which a possible early separation may grow unless the agency is able to prevent this separation by paying high salaries.

Some of these findings are corroborated by a study made in 1947 by David Rabinovitz under the title "Positions and Salaries of Graduates of the Washington University School of Social Work." One of his hypotheses is that "social workers are a very mobile group and often have to change jobs in order to earn more money."

Rabinovitz found that for the ten-month period of January 1, 1946, to November 1, 1946, 41 percent of those graduates who were employed in social work positions had changed jobs. Most of these graduates went to better paying positions. Rabinovitz also found that the increase in median monthly salaries received by the total graduate group under study between January 1, 1946, and November 1, 1946, was 15 percent. The increase in median monthly salaries of that part of the total group that had not changed jobs during those ten months was only 4.5 percent. Rabinovitz then concludes that, obviously, "graduates were only able to cope with increased costs of living by changing jobs in going to agencies which paid better salaries."

It must be recognized that the material which was collected in the Cleveland study was second-hand information, provided by the super-

visors or administrators of the workers who had left the jobs. The true reason why the worker had left may not always have been known to the supervisor or administrator. However, nineteen workers were reached through correspondence and were requested to fill out the same questionnaire that had been submitted to their former agencies. In sixteen instances, the information on the two questionnaires was identical. In the other three instances, the agency had stressed professional advancement as the reason for leaving, while the worker, although admitting that professional advancement had occurred following his resignation, listed the agency's personnel policies as a major cause for his leaving. Only so far as personnel practices were concerned were the agencies obviously somewhat on the defensive. Although few in number, the answers given by the nineteen workers themselves seem to indicate that, by and large, the reasons for leaving as stated by executives and supervisors were the true reasons.

A limited study such as this cannot possess the refinement of an insurance underwriter's safety manual although it is meant to serve very much in the same direction, namely, to evaluate both new and existing "risks" and to prevent unnecessary "losses." Before a modest attempt to suggest corrective measures can be made, certain other factors which are known through everyday experience to play a part in skilled staff turnover must be given consideration:

1. Often it is not one cause but a combination of causes that leads to turnover. A female worker, for instance, may wish to keep a position for a long time, even under not too favorable salary conditions, if the working atmosphere and personnel practices are extremely favorable. A sudden deterioration of the latter will lead to separation. Vice versa, a worker may accept the pressure of an abnormally high case load and other unfavorable working conditions if she is extremely well paid. But equally good pay and good working conditions, offered by another agency, will induce her to change.

2. Obviously, a great many women enter the social work profession in the expectation that they will not work in it throughout their lives. To many women, social work seems to be an "investment profession." Like teaching, it is a profession on which one can fall back at some time in the future when the children go to college or when payments for a new house put added strain on the family budget. Therefore, factors like the availability of not too expensive household

help may greatly influence the duration of employment of married women in social work.

3. The high cost of living forces men with family responsibilities to use every possible short cut to reach the better paid supervisory and administrative positions. This is particularly true for the male practitioner in casework and social group work. Decisions to leave the job have often to be made in spite of the full realization that these rapid changes are to the great disadvantage of the worker's professional growth.

4. We must not overlook the many intangibles which may be found in the employer-employee relationship and which may often appear as tensions created by different types of personality that cannot get along together too well.

5. It may be well assumed that the greatest single factor which for the past few years has been keeping workers from leaving jobs has been the total lack of houses for rent, especially for families with children. It may be anticipated, therefore, that whenever full or partial abandoning of housing control will become effective, a new "migration" of social workers will begin.

What, then, seem to be the measures which could correct, or help to correct, that relatively small volume of skilled turnover in private social agencies which is actually preventable? These measures can best be classified according to the various groups in the community which would have to initiate and execute them: (1) the agencies (employers); (2) the workers (employees); (3) fund-raising, fund-allocating, and planning organizations; and (4) schools of social work.

Based on its study of turnover of professional social work personnel, the Social Work Personnel Committee [1] of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland submitted, in October, 1947, a set of recommendations to the above-named four groups. These recommendations are as self-explanatory as they seemed to the committee to be logical and practical:

1. The recommendations to agency boards and executives read as follows:

It is recommended to study the published turnover report carefully for the purpose of spotting predispositions to possible separation in their staffs and for "plugging the leak" wherever possible, and to use every available

[1] This committee was a broad and representative group consisting of executives and practitioners from every functional field. Board as well as union was represented.

means to prevent separations in that segment of workers who may, at one time or another, wish to leave for reasons that are often both foreseeable and preventable; and to provide within the limits of their budgets and within the general principles which were adopted by the various functional councils (divisions) and committees of the Welfare Federation for the maximum of a pleasant working atmosphere, salary opportunities and professional advancement; and in an effort to keep capable staff, to create where necessary and advisable new advanced positions; and to use one's professional understanding and skill on the employer-employee level for early discovery and possible elimination of dissatisfaction of workers; and to take full advantage of existing salary schedules that will permit the payment of relatively high salaries to workers on the practitioner's level for outstanding performance.

Some of these recommendations were motivated by the following lines of reasoning:

Social workers pride themselves on being professional "trouble shooters." The social work profession, with its ingenuity and skill, has solved or alleviated many problems of the community and of the individual. Using in our own interest the imagination which we seem to employ so ably for the welfare of others may help us to reduce greatly one of our administrative troubles—that part of the skilled personnel turnover which is preventable.

We could, for instance, apply (or create or change) salary scales which would permit the payment of a high salary to the practitioner who is an excellent caseworker. Why do brilliant practitioners have to become supervisors or administrators for the only purpose of obtaining salaries commensurate with their abilities? This may be especially significant in situations where the few supervisory and administrative positions are firmly occupied by relatively young persons who have no intention of making room for others.

Furthermore, we can provide professional advancement beyond our traditional advanced positions. We can remodel jobs, making them seem more attractive and their occupants more distinguished. Just as commercial and sales organizations constantly create new jobs, such as, for instance, "assistant branch managers," to give status and higher income to capable staff, we can create positions like "case consultants," "assistant" or "associate" supervisors and secretaries, "district secretaries," and "department heads."

Finally, disturbing emotional problems which arise in the employment relationship and which, if permitted to develop unchecked, may easily lead to separation, should be aired freely and early, and a

mutually satisfactory solution should be sought. The same degree of sympathetic approach, accurate diagnosis, and skillful treatment which administrators request from their workers in their relationship to clients should be used in the employer-employee relationship of a private social agency. Never should administrator and supervisor be the same person. The administrator's door should always be open, not for complaints, but for an open-minded discussion with both supervisor and worker if this may help prevent turnover.

2. The Personnel Committee of the Cleveland Welfare Federation sent a general recommendation concerning employees to the Cleveland chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, suggesting that it study the report and take whatever action seemed advisable. The chapter's reaction was twofold:

First, general endorsement was given to all recommendations of the report, declaring that these recommendations seemed to be sound, not only from an administrative, but from a professional point of view. Secondly, the chapter went on record stating that the guarantee of continuity of service to clients in terms of limited workers' mobility was a dual responsibility of the agency and of the individual worker. It was considered part of the agency executive's job to give "employees wise guidance in making changes for professional advancement." It was pointed out by the chapter that agencies could and should insure length and continuity of service by assuming responsibility for (*a*) sound written personnel practices which promote staff morale; (*b*) vital and stimulating staff development programs which would promote growth in skills and satisfactions among workers; and (*c*) clear and mutually understood agreements at the time of hiring. Workers, on their part, should make an effort to accept a position with a real and sincere interest and with a thorough job evaluation. After satisfactory re-evaluation within a certain designated time, there should be, as a rule, a mutual, moral, and professional responsibility for workers and agencies to continue with each other for several years of employment.

3. To fund-raising, fund-allocating, and community-planning organizations, the Personnel Committee suggested that it would be desirable,

> to recognize while making financial allocations the existence of a highly competitive national market for well trained social workers and to realize that rapid change in social work personnel lowers the quality of agency

service; and to face the fact that frequently the successor of a leaving worker has to be paid a salary higher than the one which would have held the leaving worker on the job; furthermore, to change the various existing salary schedules to the effect that the top brackets of salary in all ranges of social work positions be increased as too many workers, especially men, are lost to the field of social work because they are attracted by other occupations where they are able to use their social work skills; and finally, to consider the advisability of establishing a continuing department of personnel practices as a central service to agencies which will also be able to assist with programs of staff developments.

4. Two separate recommendations were submitted by the Personnel Committee to the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University:

a) It was suggested that the School "engage in a vigorous and uninterrupted campaign over a period of several years, employing every suitable channel of publicity in the recruiting of additional male social workers from the reservoir of those undergraduate students who in the selection of their career aim primarily at job satisfaction and giving service."

b) It was recommended that the School "study the turnover report in the light of efforts that may be put forth in the classroom, advisory conferences and student association meetings by discussing with students the personnel turnover question and the values to be derived from substantial length of service in one agency."

A recent and brief follow-up of a number of private agency executives in the casework and social group work field in Cleveland revealed that, comparing the experiences of 1947 with the period of the Cleveland study (1944–46), the situation had improved slightly. More specifically, the median yearly turnover rate had dropped from 40 percent to 26 percent for thirteen casework agencies and from 48 percent to 38 percent for six social group work agencies in an analysis for the years 1945 and 1947, respectively. Aside from many unknown factors, the decrease is probably due to the fact that 1947 was a more normal peacetime year than 1945. But we must also remember that the Cleveland report was widely discussed and studied by boards, executives, and workers, and that many agencies began to spot predispositions to possible separation and counteracted some of them successfully. In spite of this improved situation, the turnover problem is still a major concern of private agency administrators and needs continued and careful attention.

The client of a social agency cannot follow his worker whenever the worker leaves the job. Having to relate his problems to a new worker—often after a period of discontinued casework service or emergency service given by a number of workers—will constitute considerable delay in the client's final adjustment which is the aim of the casework process. In social group work, skilled staff turnover interrupts the continuity of program and of relationships between workers and groups and between workers and volunteer leaders. In community organization it takes considerable time for a committee or group to accept and to absorb the "lubricating" service which is to be provided by the community organization staff person.

Therefore, "workers and agencies must reinforce their professional conviction and obligation to the basic assumption that the unique nature of the work of social agencies and social workers is the service given through relationships and a reasonable amount of continuity in these relationships is vitally essential." [2]

2 "Criteria for Aiding Workers and Agencies in Reaching Decisions about Job Changes," developed by the Cleveland chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, March, 1948.

GAPS IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING

By Marion Hathway

SOCIAL WORK IS FACED with a persistent and serious shortage of qualified personnel. Expansion and development of needed services are now far beyond our ability to sustain except by the most judicious use of personnel, and in some instances services are actually threatened by the inability of the schools of social work to recruit and prepare a minimum number for key positions. Gaps in training have been discussed frequently at state and national meetings of professional organizations and agencies and at annual meetings of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, the American Public Welfare Association, and similar bodies. The subject has been explored from many and varied points of view. It still remains one of the most challenging problems in professional practice.

In general, the approach to the subject seems to fall into the following three areas: (1) numerical lack of professional social workers to fill positions which specify graduation from a school of social work; (2) gaps in the programs of professional study offered by the schools in the light of the demands of the times; and (3) responsibilities for devices which will improve the performance of employed personnel with or without professional preparation. The first and second areas will receive major emphasis in this discussion.

A glance at the enrollment of students in the schools of social work indicates that the number of full-time students is again increasing. On November 1, 1947, there were 4,026 full-time students in the forty-seven schools reporting to the American Association of Schools of Social Work; this was an increase of 11 percent over the 3,630 reported on November 1, 1946. Certainly one of the gaps is the need to prepare a larger number of students in the schools of social work. The 1,348 students graduating from a two-year program and the 332 receiving certificates for the completion of a one-year program in 1946 stand as a pitifully small group in relation to the insistent requests for qualified people. What the reasons are for these limitations and what can be done about them are the first two questions that require answers.

The gain of 11 percent is encouraging at its face value; somewhat less so if we look behind the statistics at the factors which are determining enrollment. Of great significance is the fact that 2,718, or 67½ percent, of the 4,026 full-time students are able to enroll because they are the recipients of financial aid in addition to their own resources. Furthermore, 1,777, or 65 percent, of the grants are supplied from public funds; 638, or 23 percent, are supplied from private funds through voluntary health, welfare, and other agencies; and the remaining 303, or 12 percent, from the schools of social work.

If we look at this from another point of view, we see that of the 4,026 full-time students in the schools of social work, 44 percent are receiving stipends from public funds. Tax-supported sources are financing forty-four percent of the total number of students in our schools. The largest number of these are the student veterans, and in 1948 there were 1,146 veterans enrolled under the G.I. Bill of Rights. To what extent the veteran enrollment is in itself responsible for the total increase in the number of social work students we do not know. However, it is not without significance that 28 percent of all students are pursuing their professional education under the provisions of the G.I. Bill. What is the lesson in these figures?

We see that the number of students is slowly increasing; but we also note the extent to which graduate professional education is being subsidized through student aid and, furthermore, through student aid that is provided from public sources. This tells us something about the current availability of scholarships and fellowships from voluntary agencies; moreover, the careful observer of the fund-raising experience in large urban centers during the last year or so well knows that the expectation for expansion in sources of student aid through community welfare federations is anything but optimistic.

Another aspect of the cost of professional education must be explored, the extent to which expenditure brings financial returns in the form of salary increment. In other words, does the prevailing salary scale for professional social workers justify the investment in expensive education? In a recent study of the problem of education for social work in Cincinnati, Ellery Reed reported a differential of 11 percent between the salary of the beginning social caseworker with two years of professional education and the salary of the beginner with only the college degree, and a differential of 19 percent for social caseworkers with both experience and professional education as

against workers without experience. In comparing these differentials with the experience of groups of nurses, Dr. Reed found a 42.8 percent differential for the beginners and a 47.21 percent differential between the groups with eighteen months of experience. He concludes that "nurses have apparently succeeded better than social workers in getting financial recognition for educational qualifications." [1]

Differentials between public and private agencies must also be mentioned here. In a recent study of public assistance salaries, to which later reference will be made, the median salary for supervisors, who, in general, are found in the states that maintain large offices, was $2,520.[2] In a more recent study of salaries in voluntary agencies in the child welfare field, the median salary for supervisor was $3,545.[3] While these agencies are not fairly compared, for a number of reasons, neither is the differential between the two easily justified. With the notable exception of the United States Veterans Administration, salaries in the public welfare field are lagging behind, and the public field becomes to a degree a kind of training ground from which professional social workers move on to other, more lucrative positions. A two-year professional education represents an investment of not less than $3,000 to $3,500, and if one also includes salary loss during that time, which will be not less than $3,200, the median salary for supervisors does not constitute in itself a satisfactory inducement to invest both time and money in a two-year professional training. This is a deterrent to recruitment which cannot be overlooked.

Preparation for professional social work is expensive education, and expenditures for it cannot be met by well over half of the students now in our schools. It is difficult to see, therefore, how we can expect or hope for increased enrollments in the schools until a larger share of responsibility for student aid is carried by the public agencies.[4]

[1] Ellery Reed, "The Problem of Education for Social Work in Cincinnati," *Social Service Review*, XXI, No. 1 (March, 1947), 111.

[2] *Personnel in Local Offices of State Public Assistance Agencies 1946*, Public Assistance Report No. 12 (Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, 1947), p. 11.

[3] "Preliminary Tables from Salaries of Child Welfare Workers, June 1947." *Child Welfare League Bulletin*, XXVI, No. 9 (November, 1947), 2.

[4] This finding is verified by the report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, December, 1947, which urged the immediate expansion of professional schools in the fields of teaching, medicine, dentistry, nursing, pharmacy, and health work and concluded: "Unless the Federal Government provides financial assistance the colleges will be unable to meet the needs of the next decade. The proposal is made that the Government set up a system of scholarships, fellowships and direct grants to the colleges."

This is quite obvious if one sees the true significance of the high veteran enrollment. The conclusion is that programs of educational leave should be extended by public welfare agencies and work study devices explored jointly by schools and agencies.

Progress in the use of educational leave is being made far too slowly to give much ground for confidence that a solution has been found. The most recent information from the experience of public assistance, which covers the period from July 1, 1943, to June 30, 1945, indicates that educational leave had been granted to 480 employees in thirty-eight states. More than half of these workers were on leave with pay and the majority of those on leave with pay were financed solely from Federal funds available through child welfare services. It is encouraging to note, however, that most of the workers taking educational leave return to the agency, and practically all of those given leave with pay do return.[5] Federal participation in state expenditures for educational leave is possible, provided a state plan for this purpose is approved. A greatly expanded program of educational leave under public assistance is possible as the state agency becomes convinced of its validity and as state financial participation is approved by the legislatures. The educational leave program of the child welfare services has led the way. It is encouraging to note that further progress in use of Federal funds for this purpose was made possible by larger appropriations to the Children's Bureau by the Seventy-ninth Congress, and that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, more than $600,000 of Federal funds were budgeted by the state and territorial agencies. This sum would permit 500 individuals to attend schools of social work on educational leave.[6] Where in the past emphasis had been placed on enabling child welfare workers to complete their first year of professional training, the states are now using more of these funds for consultative and supervisory personnel to secure either their first or second year of professional training; in general there has been a marked emphasis on the use of these funds to strengthen staff development programs of the state agencies.

The work-study plan is a second device by which the agency may meet a portion of the cost of professional education. No statistics are available to indicate the extent to which it is used. My general impres-

[5] *Report on State Practices for Educational Leave for the Period July 1, 1943 through June 30, 1945* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Public Assistance, Federal Security Agency, 1946 [mimeo]).

[6] Letter from Mildred Arnold, United States Children's Bureau, April 1, 1948.

sion is that sound work-study programs are developing very slowly and cannot be expected to contribute many qualified workers in the near future. Difficulties inherent in the work-study plan itself are recognized. Yet if school and agency will jointly examine the present stumbling blocks and will coöperate in sound experimentation and build on experience, the way would be open for a more general use of this device which has much to offer in our field.

Within the programs of the schools of social work, a number of educational gaps may be cited. Indeed, it would be strange if this were not true, considering the developments within the field of social work and the span of time which inevitably follows before the full significance of change can be appraised by the schools. Recently, one particular area has been emphasized and has been selected for comment here.

In the 1948 round table conference of the American Public Welfare Association, discussions were pointed to the failure of the schools to prepare for the top-level positions of supervision and administration in the agencies. It was said that the schools are placing more emphasis upon the preparation of beginning workers and are not attempting to meet the need for administrators; that while some courses of value to administrators are offered by the schools, no concerted efforts are being made to prepare students to assume such responsibilities nor to provide a special kind of program for those who take educational leave from the agencies with intent of returning to do a more effective job.

Another aspect of this same problem was explored at the 1948 annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. In the discussion of preparation for the public social services Joseph E. Baldwin, executive director of the Lake County Indiana Department of Public Welfare, summarized statements of administrators in ten large urban public welfare agencies who had been asked to list the qualities which they believed to be of first importance in a caseworker and also to comment on the most notable gaps in the preparation of the trained social worker from the standpoint of the public welfare administrator. Said Mr. Baldwin:

> It is readily admitted that there is confusion in the mind of the administrator. He has listed "attitude and feeling for people" as most important yet his basic gripes are in the area of case load management. . . . The belief is general that workers have an unrealistic approach to the job; they

have no preparation in work planning and controls; they do not recognize the limitations of a public agency in the amount of intensive training that could be carried on; that they knew very little about budgeting or public finance.[7]

An answer frequently given to this criticism is that "case load management" is an aspect of in-service training and is the responsibility of the agency. I do not think there is much disagreement with some of the implications of this answer. Nor would we disagree that competent supervision is the basic point of departure in a good in-service training program. However, the fact is that the public welfare agencies are meagerly equipped with competent supervision. While the situation in child welfare services is more favorable, the truth is that where social workers with professional training are found, they are either at the supervisory level or are being prepared for early promotion to it.

Inasmuch as these comments have come from directors of large urban agencies, we are wondering what the situation might be in both urban and rural public welfare. Evidence is provided in a recent and significant study of personnel in local offices of state public assistance agencies published by the Social Security Administration in August, 1947.[8] Of 30,631 individuals included in the study, 2,491 were directors, 1,675 were supervisors, and 14,830 were visitors. The remaining 11,635 were clerks. Of the 2,491 directors, 79 percent were in charge of offices in which there were nine or fewer employees. One hundred and fifty-nine were in charge of offices in which the director was the only full-time employee; 1,145 were in charge of offices in which the number of full-time employees was between two and four; and 664 were in charge of offices in which the number was between five and nine. In other words, in the 2,456 local offices included in the study, there were only 440 which have supervisors. In nine of the states not one local office has a supervisor, and in eight additional states only one or two offices have supervisors.

Now what do these figures tell us? First of all they indicate the importance of the small local welfare office with a director who either does everything or is both administrator and supervisor of a small number of workers. Secondly, in the 440 offices where supervisors are employed, we shall look for the professional social workers. If we can

[7] Joseph E. Baldwin, "A Local Public Welfare Administrator's Reaction," in *Selected Papers, Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting* (New York: American Association of Schools of Social Work, 1948), p. 35.

[8] *Personnel in Local Offices of State Public Assistance Agencies 1946.*

trust our general observations, these will be found in the large urban centers where schools of social work are located. Are we not correct in assuming, then, that if we are going to prepare personnel for public welfare agencies, we must take for granted that we are preparing persons who will very quickly assume responsibilities of supervision and administration if they are located in the smaller communities?

Is it safe to conclude from all of this that a major gap in preparation and training is a failure to recognize the "administrative component" in professional preparation? I will not here debate whether or not the schools are preparing for administration. My conviction is that they are not and should not attempt to do so, if we think only of methods by which workers on educational leave will be brought into the schools of social work and prepared for employment as administrators in public welfare programs. What seems to me even clearer is that the schools must review their whole approach to the teaching of administration and the administrative process and more effectively integrate it with the other segments of the curriculum so that the graduate will be fortified with an ability to utilize the administrative skills inherent in his job and will be able to assimilate new skills which accrue to him as he takes on new responsibilities. This cannot be done by a single course in "principles of administration" no matter how hard instructors in the practice courses and in the field strive to effect integration of such teaching with class and field work. The impossibility is even clearer as we see the course in administration scheduled near the end of the student's program, where in a sense, the basic skills have already been mastered.

We must somehow begin when the student enters the school and we must develop content that can be integrated and paralleled with other experience in the school. It would begin with consideration of what is involved in agency identification and, further illustrating from the public field, the source of agency responsibility, limitations set by statute, the place of policy, the relationship of the agency to the public, and the nature of the worker's responsibility as a staff member. Content would be developed in accordance with the progress and place of the student in the total school experience. I am not referring to the use of the practice courses for this purpose. The teaching of social casework in many schools has too long been overburdened with content that is vital for every student, yet content that is separate and apart from casework. I cite, for example, some phases of admin-

istrative process to which reference has just been made. Social casework is a central core of the curriculum, but its very vitality will depend, in part, upon the extent to which teacher and student are free to work on the casework process itself and the extent to which other subject matter can be correlated so that the student will have an integrated experience. If this division of labor and interrelationship of subject matter can be firmly established, we will be making great progress with the administrative component. It is not to be argued that devices will be the same in all segments of the curriculum nor that the task will be easy. Generally speaking, I believe it nearer of accomplishment in a school whose curriculum is agency focused than in one which has not accepted this basis for curriculum planning.

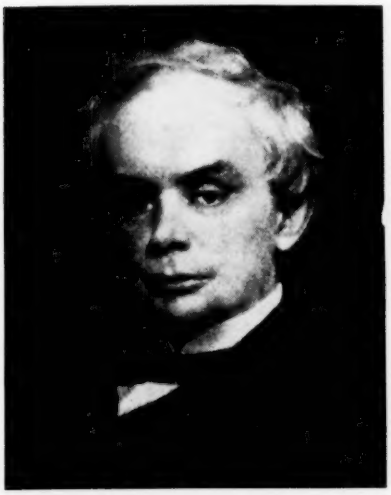
The official acceptance of the "basic eight areas" as normally required of all students in the two-year curriculum has committed the American Association of Schools of Social Work to a broad emphasis on curriculum planning.[9] However, the last report of the Curriculum Committee seems to indicate that the task of implementing the concept of the "basic eight" within an integrated curriculum is still ahead.

My conclusion is that the gap in preparation for supervision and administration is something which the schools will be asked to meet, and to meet within the two-year curriculum for most students. Something else can be done at the advanced level, and the need to develop content for programs at the advanced level is very real. However, the number of individuals who can avail themselves of advanced preparation will be small and actually infinitesimal without substantial student aid. Although we recognize this special need and plan for it, we cannot hope, in a field that is now so undersupplied with professional personnel, to fill the gaps with programs of advanced education alone.

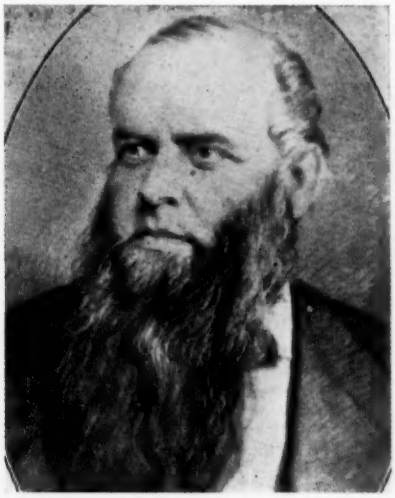
[9] "Report of the Curriculum Planning Committee," American Association of Schools of Social Work, January, 1948 (mimeo).

PRESIDENTS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK SINCE ITS INCEPTION IN 1874

In so far as possible, the pictures are contemporary with the period of service. In each instance the city mentioned is that in which the Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was held.



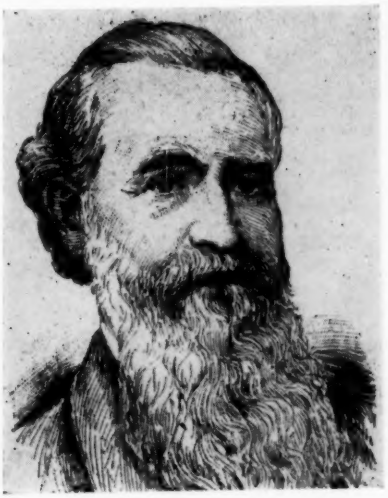
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NEW YORK – 1874 SARATOGA – 1877



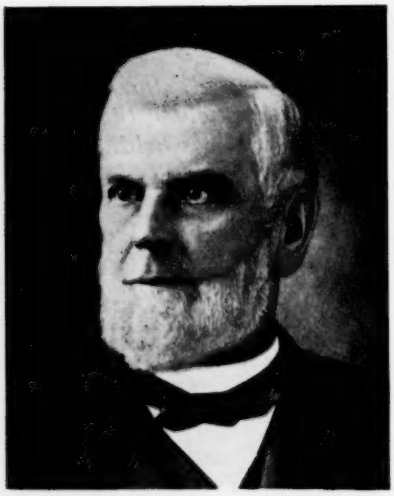
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DETROIT – 1875



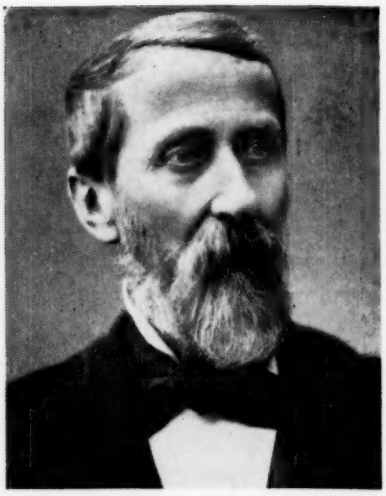
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SARATOGA – 1876



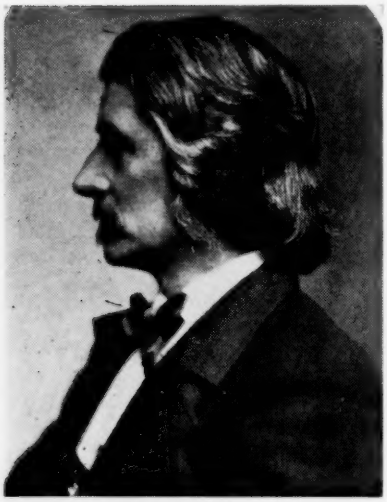
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CINCINNATI – 1878



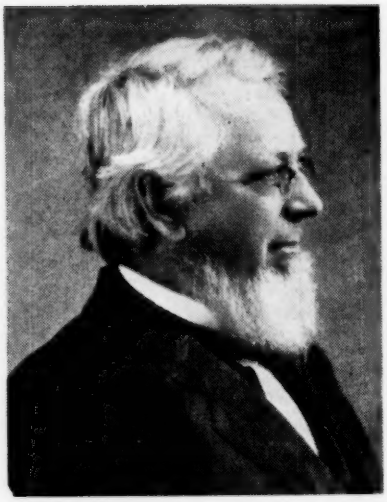
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CHICAGO – 1879



ROELIFF BRINKERHOFF
CLEVELAND – 1880



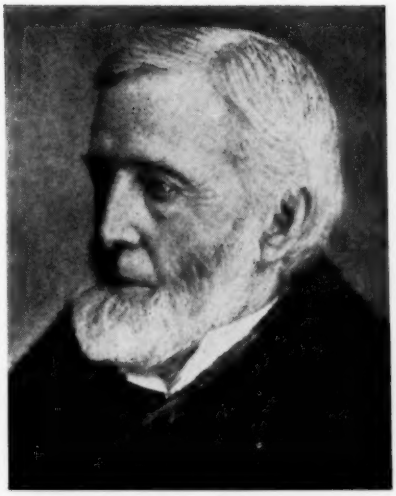
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BOSTON – 1881



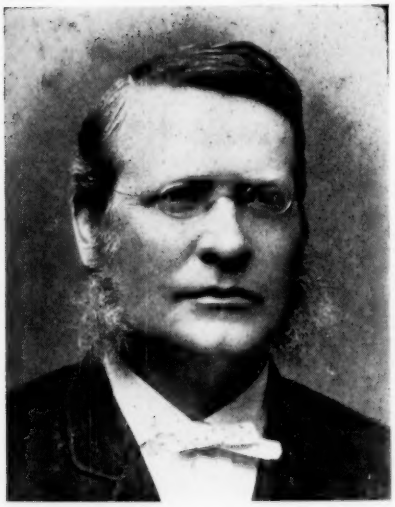
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MADISON – 1882



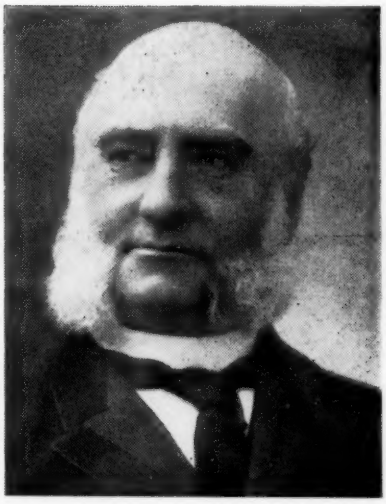
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LOUISVILLE – 1883



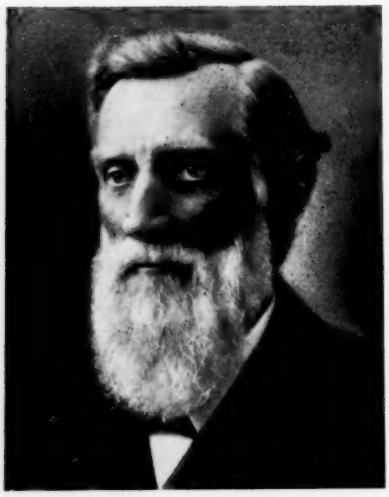
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ST. LOUIS – 1884



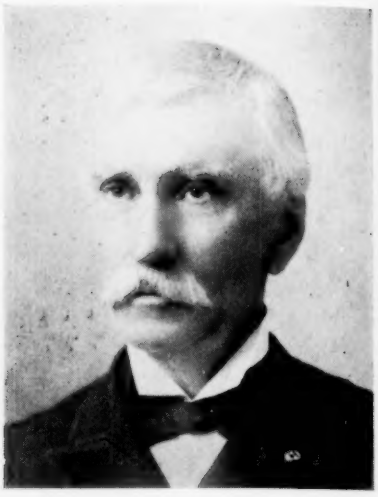
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WASHINGTON – 1885



WILLIAM HOWARD NEFF
ST. PAUL – 1886



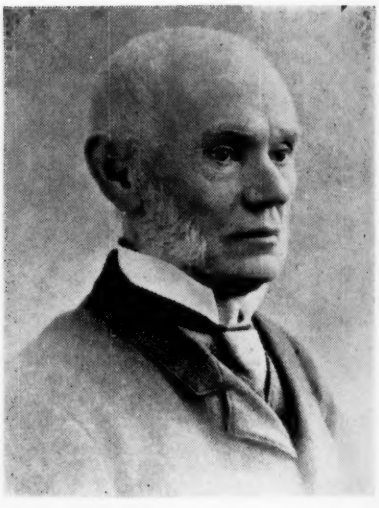
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OMAHA – 1887



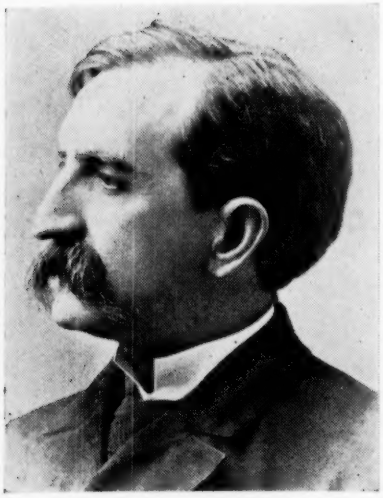
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BUFFALO – 1888



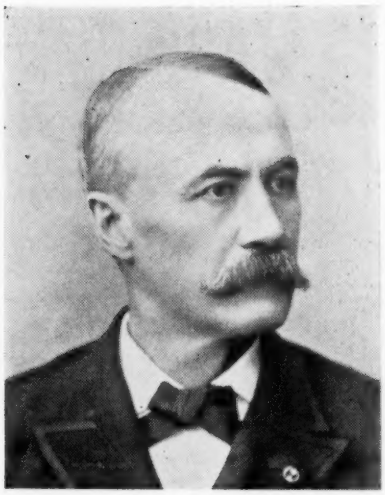
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SAN FRANCISCO – 1889



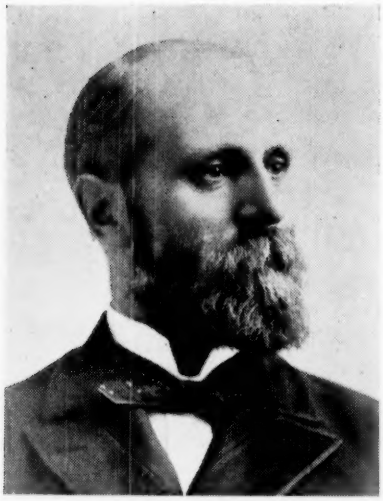
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OSCAR C. McCULLOCH
INDIANAPOLIS – 1891



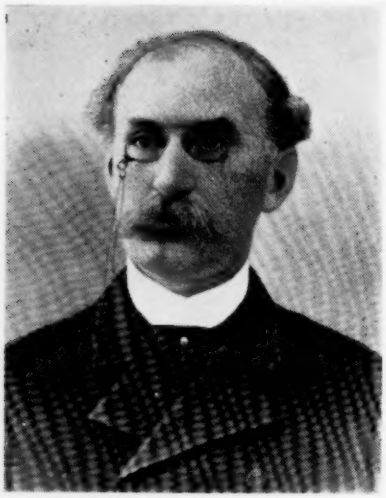
MYRON W. REED
DENVER – 1892



HASTINGS H. HART
CHICAGO – 1893



LUCIUS C. STORRS
NASHVILLE – 1894



ROBERT TREAT PAINE
NEW HAVEN – 1895



A. O. WRIGHT
GRAND RAPIDS – 1896



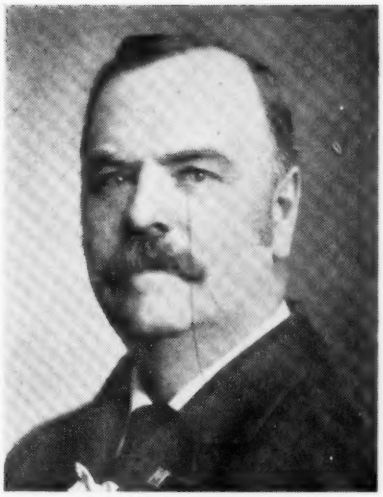
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TORONTO – 1897



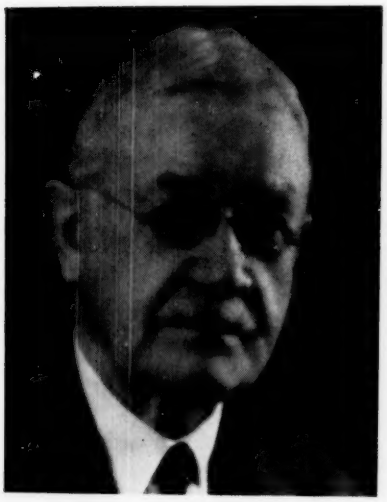
WILLIAM R. STEWART
NEW YORK – 1898



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C. E. FAULKNER
TOPEKA – 1900



JOHN M. GLENN
WASHINGTON – 1901



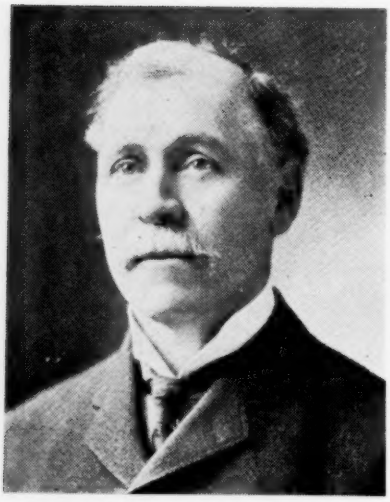
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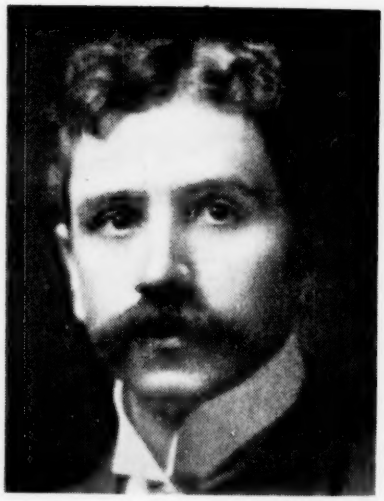
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JEFFREY R. BRACKETT
PORTLAND, MAINE – 1904



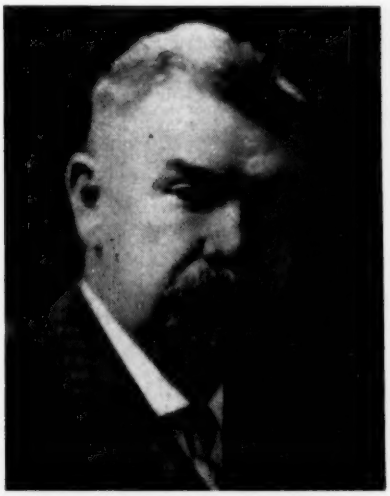
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PORTLAND, OREGON – 1905



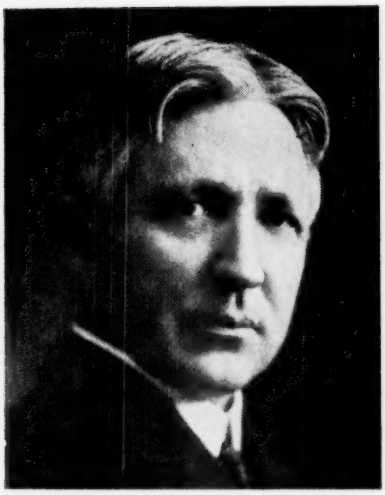
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PHILADELPHIA – 1906



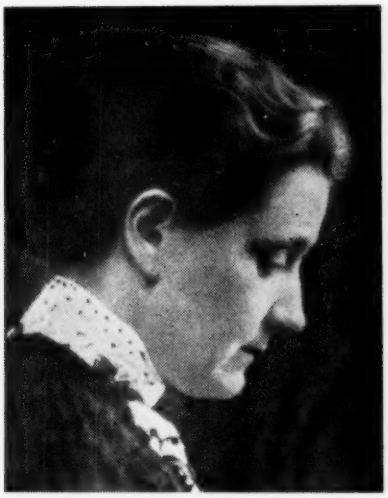
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MINNEAPOLIS – 1907



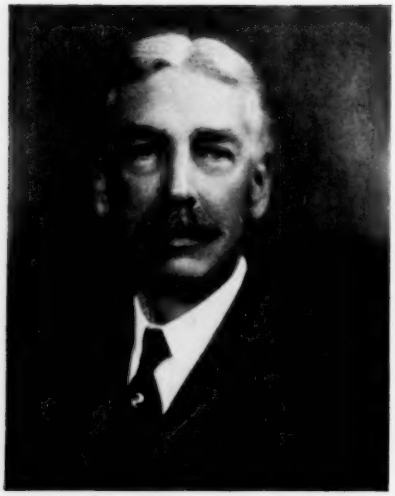
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BUFFALO – 1909



JANE ADDAMS
ST. LOUIS – 1910



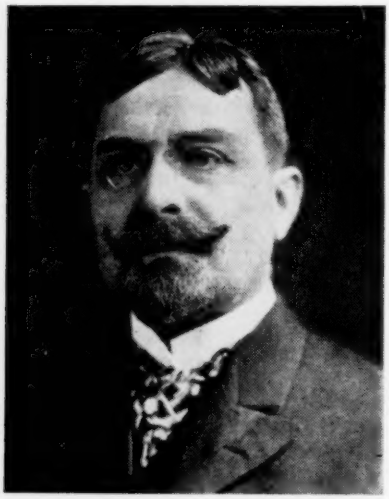
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BOSTON – 1911 WASHINGTON – 1923



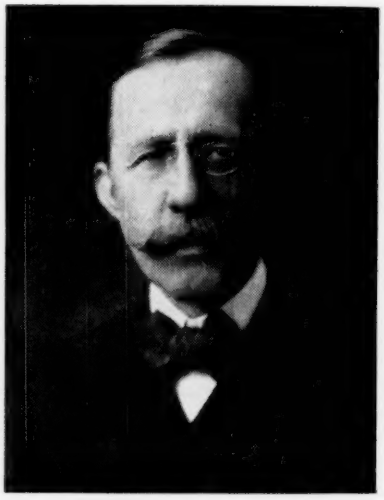
JULIAN W. MACK

CLEVELAND – 1912



FRANK TUCKER

SEATTLE – 1913

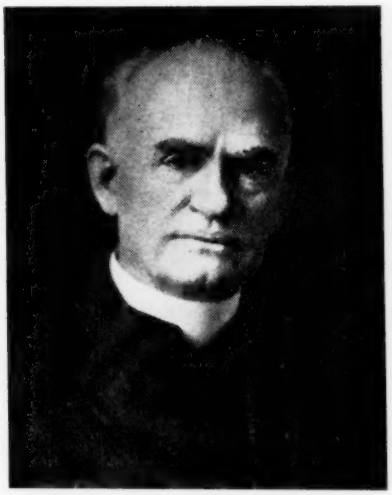


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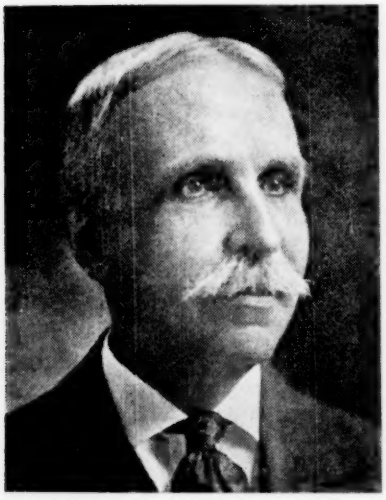
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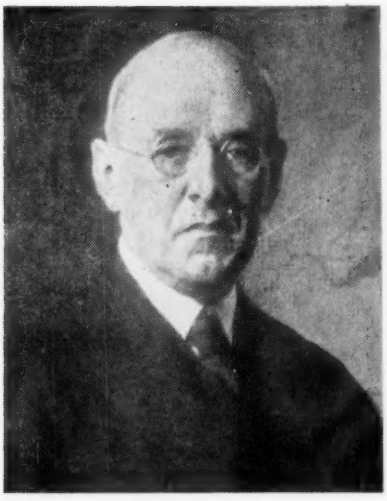
MARY WILLCOX GLENN
BALTIMORE – 1915



FRANCIS H. GAVISK
INDIANAPOLIS – 1916



FREDERIC ALMY
PITTSBURGH – 1917



ROBERT A. WOODS
KANSAS CITY, MO. – 1918



JULIA C. LATHROP
ATLANTIC CITY – 1919



OWEN R. LOVEJOY
NEW ORLEANS – 1920



ALLEN T. BURNS
MILWAUKEE – 1921



ROBERT W. KELSO
PROVIDENCE – 1922



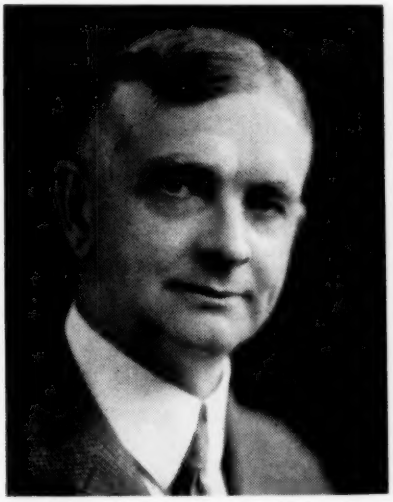
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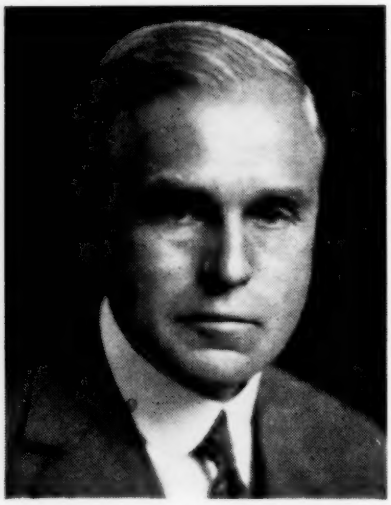
WILLIAM J. NORTON
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GERTRUDE VAILE
CLEVELAND – 1926



JOHN A. LAPP
DES MOINES – 1927



SHERMAN C. KINGSLEY

MEMPHIS – 1928



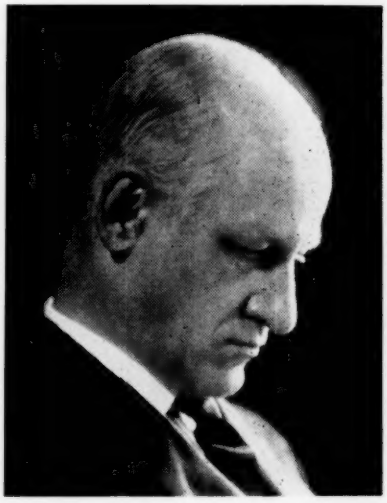
PORTER R. LEE

SAN FRANCISCO – 1929



MIRIAM VAN WATERS

BOSTON – 1930



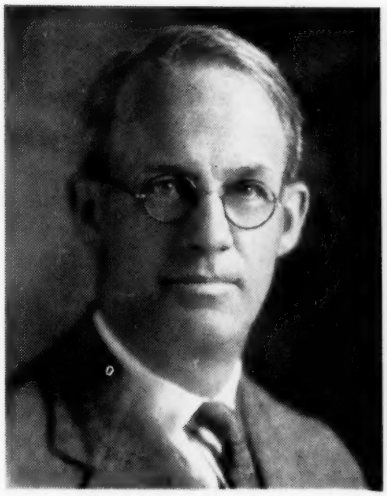
RICHARD C. CABOT

MINNEAPOLIS – 1931



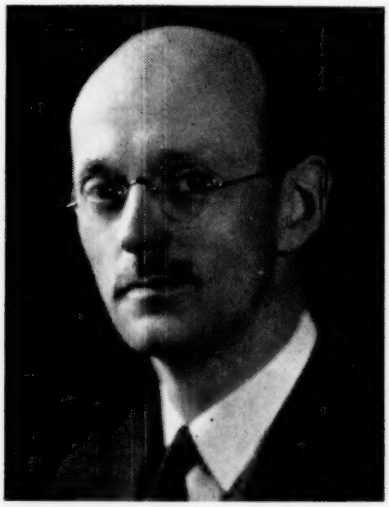
C. M. BOOKMAN

PHILADELPHIA – 1932



FRANK J. BRUNO

DETROIT – 1933



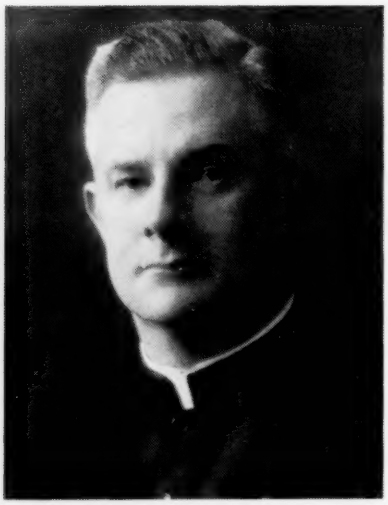
WILLIAM HODSON

KANSAS CITY, MO. – 1934



KATHARINE F. LENROOT

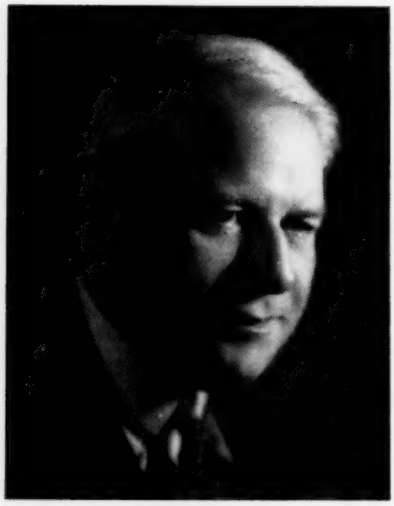
MONTREAL – 1935



MSGR. ROBERT F. KEEGAN
ATLANTIC CITY – 1936



EDITH ABBOTT
INDIANAPOLIS – 1937



SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN
SEATTLE – 1938



PAUL KELLOGG
BUFFALO – 1939



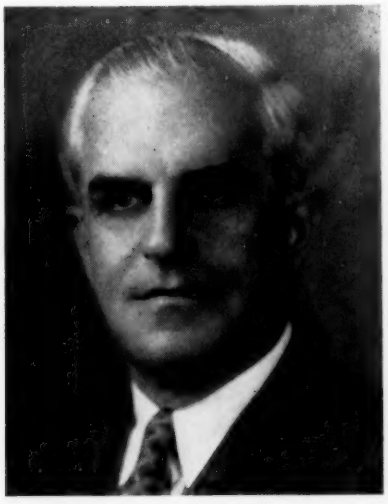
GRACE COYLE
GRAND RAPIDS – 1940



JANE M. HOEY
ATLANTIC CITY – 1941



SHELBY M. HARRISON
NEW ORLEANS – 1942



FRED K. HOEHLER
NEW YORK, ST. LOUIS – 1943



ELIZABETH WISNER
CLEVELAND – 1944



ELLEN C. POTTER, M.D.
ONE-DAY MEETINGS IN 139 CITIES – 1945



KENNETH L. M. PRAY
BUFFALO – 1946



ARLIEN JOHNSON
SAN FRANCISCO – 1947

APPENDIX A: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1948

OFFICERS

President: Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland, Ohio
First Vice President: Irene Farnham Conrad, Nashville, Tenn.
Second Vice President: Wayne McMillen, Chicago
Third Vice President: Neva R. Deardorff, New York
Secretary: Myron Falk, Baton Rouge, La.
Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York
Acting Executive Secretary: Jane Chandler, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Leonard W. Mayo, President; Irene Farnham Conrad, First Vice President; Wayne McMillen, Second Vice President; Neva R. Deardorff, Third Vice President; Arlien Johnson, Past President; Myron Falk, Secretary; Arch Mandel, Treasurer

Term expiring 1948: Elsa Castendyck, Washington, D.C.; Stanley P. Davies, New York; Helen W. Hanchette, Cleveland; Robert P. Lane, Boston; George W. Rabinoff, New York; Wilma Walker, Chicago. *Term expiring 1949:* Paul L. Benjamin, Schenectady, N.Y.; Florence Hollis, New York; Margaret Johnson, Cleveland; Dorothy King, Montreal, Canada; Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, N.C.; Rev. Almon R. Pepper, New York; Helen R. Wright, Chicago. *Term expiring 1950:* Frederick H. Allen, M.D., Philadelphia; Mary E. Austin, Washington, D.C.; Marion Hathway, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Faith Jefferson Jones, Hampton, Va.; Russell H. Kurtz, Concord, N.H.; Malcolm S. Nichols, Boston; Margaret D. Yates, Dallas, Texas

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

Committee on Nominations

Chairman: Bernice Bish, Kansas City, Mo.

Term expiring 1948: Bernice Bish, Kansas City, Mo.; Rev. John J. Donovan, New York; Edward S. Lewis, New York; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati, Ohio; Bernard A. Roloff, Chicago; John Slawson, New York; Nellie W. Woodward, San Francisco. *Term expiring 1949:* Edith M. Baker, Washington, D.C.; Karl de Schweinitz, Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth H. Dexter, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.; Roy Sorenson, San Francisco; Charlotte Towle, Chicago. *Term expiring 1950:* Florence Adams, Birmingham, Ala; Marian Lowe, Lincoln, Nebr.; Harry Lurie, New York;

J. Milton Patterson, Baltimore, Md.; Margaret Reeves, New York; Bertha C. Reynolds, Stoughton, Mass.; Gertrude Wilson, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Committee on Program

Ex officio: Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland; Chairman; Arlien Johnson, Los Angeles; Jane Chandler, Columbus, Ohio

Term expiring 1948: Edgar M. Gerlach, New York; Sue Spencer, New York. *Term expiring 1949:* Julius Goldman, New Orleans; Phyllis Osborn, Kansas City, Mo. *Term expiring 1950:* Marguerite Gauchat, Canton, Ohio; Donald S. Howard, New York

Committee on International Conference of Social Work

Chairman: Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago

Members: Charles Alspach, Lake Success, N.Y.; Joseph P. Anderson, New York; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis, Mo.; Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland; Harry Greenstein, Baltimore, Md.; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.; Donald S. Howard, New York; Mary E. Hurlbutt, New York; Arlien Johnson, Los Angeles; Dorothy C. Kahn, New York; M. J. Karpf, Los Angeles; Hertha Kraus, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; James T. Nicholson, Washington, D.C.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady, Washington, D.C.; Lillie Peck, New York; Kurt Peiser, Philadelphia; Walter W. Pettit, New York; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N.J.; George W. Rabinoff, New York; Howard Russell, Chicago; Alice Shaffer, Washington, D.C.; G. Howland Shaw, Washington, D.C.; William F. Snow, M.D., New York; Frances Taussig, New York; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Ga.; Benjamin Youngdahl, St. Louis, Mo.

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

Section I. Social Casework

Chairman: Florence Hollis, New York

Vice Chairman: Helen E. Spalding, Boston

Term expiring 1948: Florence M. Mason, Cleveland; Mazie F. Rappaport, Baltimore, Md.; Audrey F. Sayman, New Orleans; Bernice E. Scroggie, Washington, D.C.; Marjorie J. Smith, Vancouver, B.C., Canada. *Term expiring 1949:* Muriel J. Gayford, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Elise Huseman, St. Louis, Mo.; Claudia Wannamaker, Chicago. *Term expiring 1950:* Joseph Andriola, San Diego, Calif.; Callman Rawley, Minneapolis, Minn.; Virginia L. Tannar, Cleveland

Section II. Child Care

Chairman: Mildred Arnold, Washington, D.C.

Vice Chairman: Lois Wildy, Chicago

Term expiring 1948: Charles L. Burt, Providence, R.I.; Paul Schreiber,

Baltimore, Md. *Term expiring 1949:* Gladys E. Hall, New Orleans; Kate Bullock Helms, Columbia, S.C.; Wendell F. Johnson, Toledo, Ohio. *Term expiring 1950:* Alice T. Dashiell, New York; W. I. Mayo, Jr., Westminster, Vt.; Sara P. Ricks, Jackson, Miss.

Section III. Delinquency

Chairman: A. G. Fraser, Philadelphia
Vice Chairman: Frederick Moran, Albany, N.Y.
Term expiring 1948: A. G. Fraser, Philadelphia; G. Howland Shaw, Washington, D.C.; Herbert D. Williams, State School, N.Y. *Term expiring 1949:* Charles L. Chute, New York; Roy L. McLaughlin, Meriden, Conn.; Alice Scott Nutt, Washington, D.C. *Term expiring 1950:* Russell W. Ballard, Chicago; Annie Lee Davis, Washington, D.C.; Eleanor Glueck, Cambridge, Mass.

Section IV. The Aged

Chairman: Mrs. Lucia J. Bing, Cleveland
Vice Chairman: Rosemary Antin, Albany, N.Y.
Term expiring 1948: Evelyn McKay, New York; Lucille M. Smith, Washington, D.C.; Margaret W. Wagner, Cleveland. *Term expiring 1949:* Edith Holloway, Rochester, N.Y.; Esther R. Smith, San Francisco; Maurice Taylor, Pittsburgh, Pa. *Term expiring 1950:* Francis Bosworth, Philadelphia; Charlotte C. Donnell, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Margaret Steel Moss, Harrisburg, Pa.

Section V. Social Group Work

Chairman: Dorothea F. Sullivan, Washington, D.C.
Vice Chairman: Emanuel Berlatsky, New York
Term expiring 1948: Vilona Cutler, Oklahoma City, Okla.; W. T. McCullough, Philadelphia; John C. Neubauer, San Francisco; Elizabeth V. Thomas, Vancouver, B.C., Canada; Edith I. Yeomans, Hartford, Conn. *Term expiring 1949:* Irene Anderson, Roxbury, Mass.; Helen D. Green, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Hollis Vick, Detroit. *Term expiring 1950:* Frankie V. Adams, Atlanta, Ga.; Ann Elizabeth Neely, New York; Helen U. Phillips, Philadelphia

Section VI. Community Organization and Planning

Chairman: Ralph H. Blanchard, New York
Vice Chairman: Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago
Term expiring 1948: Richard S. Bachman, Detroit; Leila G. Johnson, Columbia, S.C.; R. Maurice Moss, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Leroy A. Ramsdell, Hartford, Conn.; Ralph J. Reed, Portland, Oreg. *Term expiring 1949:* M. Ruth Butler, Philadelphia; Helen Hackett, Los Angeles; Benjamin E. Youngdahl, St. Louis, Mo. *Term expiring 1950:* Bernice E. Orchard,

Madison, Wis.; Faber Stevenson, Utica, N.Y.; Tom Wintersteen, Omaha, Nebr.

Section VII. Public Welfare

Chairman: Paul V. Benner, Baton Rouge, La.

Vice Chairman: Grace F. Marcus, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Term expiring 1948: Ruth Bowen, Lansing, Mich.; H. E. Chamberlain, M.D., Sacramento, Calif.; Catherine M. Manning, Rochester, N.Y.; Harry O. Page, Albany, N.Y.; Howard L. Russell, Chicago. *Term expiring 1949:* Helen E. Hayden, Kansas City, Mo.; Walter B. Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn.; Ruth C. Olson, Kansas City, Mo. *Term expiring 1950:* Ruth M. Bartlett, Denver, Colo.; Harold H. Smith, Boise, Idaho; J. Sheldon Turner, Washington, D.C.

Section VIII. Health

Chairman: Eleanor Cockerill, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Vice Chairman: Anna Harrison, New Orleans

Term expiring 1948: Flora E. Burton, Tewksbury, Mass.; Dorothy C. Deming, New York; Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Washington, D.C. *Term expiring 1949:* Eleanor Hearon Brooks, Denver, Colo.; Eleanor Cockerill, Pittsburgh, Pa.; William F. Orr, M.D., Nashville, Tenn. *Term expiring 1950:* Walter Clarke, M.D., New York; Lawrence J. Linck, Chicago; Leonora B. Rubinow, Newark, N.J.

Section IX. Mental Health

Chairman: Louis de Boer, Chicago

Vice Chairman: Lucille Cairns, Topeka, Kans.

Term expiring 1948: George Pratt, M.D., New York; Mary E. Rall, Chicago; Mrs. H. C. Solomon, Boston. *Term expiring 1949:* Douglass Gordon Campbell, M.D., Berkeley, Calif.; George S. Stevenson, M.D., New York; Katharine M. Wickman, New York. *Term expiring 1950:* Jeanette Regensburg, New York; Anna Belle Tracy, Cleveland

Section X. Industrial and Economic Problems

Chairman: Rose J. McHugh, Washington, D.C.

Vice Chairman: Henry C. Murray, Boston

Term expiring 1948: Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Myron Falk, Baton Rouge, La.; Hasseltine Byrd Taylor, Berkeley, Calif. *Term expiring 1949:* Arthur Dunham, Detroit; Josephine Roche, Denver, Colo.; Arnold B. Walker, Cincinnati, Ohio. *Term expiring 1950:* Harry J. Kelley, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Thomas A. Webster, Kansas City, Mo.; Grace E. Wilson, Baltimore, Md.

Section XI. Methods of Social Action

Chairman: Emery A. Brownell, Rochester, N.Y.
Vice Chairman: Edith O. Sawyer, Buffalo, N.Y.
Term expiring 1948: Masao Satow, Salt Lake City, Utah; Gustav L. Schramm, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Arthur L. Swift, Jr., New York; Helen L. Witmer, Northampton, Mass. *Term expiring 1949:* Joseph P. Anderson, New York; Eugene Jonquet, Seattle, Wash.; S. Vincent Owens, St. Paul, Minn. *Term expiring 1950:* Albert Deutsch, New York; Inabel Burns Lindsay, Washington, D.C.; Bjarne Romnes, Madison, Wis.

Section XII. Administration

Chairman: Frederick I. Daniels, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Vice Chairman: Loa Howard, Portland, Oreg.
Term expiring 1948: Gertrude Binder, Los Angeles; Virginia Howlett, Philadelphia; Clare M. Tousley, New York. *Term expiring 1949:* Paul T. Beisser, Ocean City, Md.; Perry B. Hall, Hartford, Conn.; Ella W. Reed, Wyoming, Ohio. *Term expiring 1950:* Robert Beasley, Chicago; Frank Hertel, New York; Martha Wood, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX B: MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

Thursday, April 22, 1948: Annual Business Meeting

There being a quorum present, the President, Leonard W. Mayo, called the meeting to order.

Mr. Mayo expressed the appreciation and gratitude of the Conference for the work that Arch Mandel had done as Treasurer. Mr. Mayo then asked for the report of the Treasurer which was presented as follows by Mr. Mandel.

This report can cover only the period from January 1, 1948, through March 31, 1948. During this period we received a total of $40,727.62 and expended $29,863.69 leaving a cash balance of $10,863.93.

We have received $15,696.16 in contributions to the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Fund since the campaign started in October. Of this, $4,632.42 has come in since January 1. General contributions from individual members in response to the President's direct mail appeal for contributions of at least $1.00 have amounted to $4,309.24. We are proud of this because a very large part of our members have contributed. Our thirty-one special campaign chairmen in selected cities have already brought in $10,416.92, and a number of their campaigns are not yet complete. Community chests outside the thirty-one cities together with Associate Groups have contributed $970.00. The renewals of memberships due the first and second quarters of this year, compared with last year, indicate that there will be relatively few resignations or lapses of memberships due to the increasing of dues. The increased dues have very substantially increased income. Our area committees are conducting membership drives which are bringing in additional revenue.

Our expenditures have been in accordance with the budget except that in paying all our old bills some of them ($5,245.76) have been paid out of funds needed for this year's operations. We still have to receive the bills for the San Francisco 1947 *Proceedings*, which are estimated at $8,761.65 and which are chargeable to 1947. It will be necessary for us to push along every line of effort to secure income through the renewals of membership, the securing of new members, and the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Fund campaign. The attendance at the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Meeting, which is not known at this time, will also affect our fortunes this year. The financial picture is not so dark as it was last October because of the fine response of our members to our appeals, but we still have a deficit of approximately $12,000.00 and we must keep pushing to reduce and to eliminate that deficit and to meet our budget needs of this year.

Respectfully submitted,

ARCH MANDEL
Treasurer

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Recapitulation and Forecast

Receipts

Total Balance and Receipts, January 1, 1948–March 31, 1948:		
Operating Account	$38,831.62	
Annual Meeting Account	1,896.00	
Total actual receipts		$ 40,727.62
Estimated Budget Receipts, April 1, 1948–December 31, 1948:		
Operating Account	$53,119.38	
Annual Meeting Account	28,404.00	
Total estimated receipts		$ 81,523.38
Total Actual and Estimated Receipts		$122,251.00

Expenditures

Total Expenditures, January 1, 1948–March 31, 1948:		
Operating Account	$16,276.94	
Annual Meeting Account	3,708.57	
1947 Program Committee	1,240.88	
1946 *Proceedings*	8,637.30	
Total expenditures		$ 29,863.69
Estimated Budget Expenditures, April 1, 1948–December 31, 1948:		
Operating Account	$73,662.06	
Annual Meeting Account	21,941.43	
1947 *Proceedings* bill	8,761.65	
Total estimated expenditures		$104,365.14
Total Actual Expenditures and Estimated Budget Expenditures		$134,228.83
Estimated Deficit		$ 11,977.83

Operating Account, January 1, 1948–March 31, 1948

Operating Balance, January 1, 1948		$ 978.00
Receipts, Budget:		
Memberships	$33,011.27	
Bulletin sales	35.00	
Refunds	60.93	
Contributions	4,632.42	
Attendance Fees	114.00	
Total receipts, Operating Account	$37,853.62	
Total receipts, Annual Meeting Account	1,896.00	
Total Receipts		$ 39,749.62
Total Receipts and Balance		$ 40,727.62
Expenditures, Budget:		
Salaries	$ 7,646.51	
Travel	930.38	
Printing	4,392.59	
Postage	1,203.29	
Supplies	279.22	
Telephone and telegraph	265.27	
Rent	450.00	
Equipment and Repair	361.90	
Retirement	437.80	
Miscellaneous	309.98	
Total expenditures, Operating Account	$16,276.94	
Total expenditures, Annual Meeting Account	3,708.57	
1947 Program Committee	1,240.88	
1946 *Proceedings*	8,637.30	
Total Expenditures		$ 29,863.69
Balance		$ 10,863.93
Functional Distribution of Expenditures:		
General Administration	$ 2,364.80	
Membership promotion	1,786.22	
Bulletin	2,441.51	
Office operation	8,936.63	
Retirement	437.80	
Other	309.98	
Total		$ 16,276.94
Contribution Seventy-fifth Anniversary Campaign Accumulative Beginning October 15, 1947:		
Associate Groups	$ 525.00	
General	4,309.24	
City chairmen	10,416.92	
Community chests	445.00	
Total		$ 15,696.16

Annual Meeting Account, January 1, 1948–March 31, 1948

Operating Balance, January 1		None
Receipts, Budget:		
Attendance fees	$ 1,806.00	
Booths	90.00	
Total Receipts		$ 1,896.00
Total Receipts and Balance		$ 1,896.00
Expenditures, Budget:		
Travel	$ 1,507.31	
Printing	845.27	
Supplies and equipment	855.99	
Rental	500.00	
Total Expenditures		$ 3,708.57
Due Operating Account		$ 1,812.57
Functional Distribution of Expenditures:		
General administration	$ 1,763.30	
Program and daily *Bulletin*	10.78	
Publicity	1,434.49	
Rental	500.00	
Total		$ 3,708.57

BUDGET STATEMENTS

OPERATING ACCOUNT, JANUARY 1, 1947–MARCH 31, 1948

(Contains Only Net Receipts and Expenditures Properly Credited and Charged to the 1948 Budget)

Receipts:	*Budget Estimate*	*Budget Receipts*	*Budget Difference*
Memberships	$72,958.00	$33,011.27	$39,946.73
Attendance fees	7,000.00	114.00	6,886.00
Miscellaneous	2,000.00	4,728.35	+2,728.35
Anniversary book	9,015.00	...	9,015.00
Total	$90,973.00	$37,853.62	$53,119.38

Expenditures:	*Allowed*	*Expended*	*Balance*
Salaries	$34,140.00	$ 7,646.51	$26,493.49
Travel	7,700.00	930.38	6,769.62
Printing	36,119.00	4,392.59	31,726.41
Postage	4,000.00	1,203.29	2,796.71
Supplies	900.00	279.22	620.78
Telephone and telegraph	1,000.00	265.27	734.73
Rent	1,800.00	450.00	1,350.00
Equipment and repair	800.00	361.90	438.10
Retirement	1,980.00	437.80	1,542.20
Miscellaneous	1,500.00	309.98	1,190.02
Total	$89,939.00	$16,276.94	$75,662.06

Functional Distribution of Expenditures:			
General administration	$16,500.00	$ 2,364.80	$14,135.20
Membership promotion	7,000.00	1,786.22	5,213.78
Program Committee	2,500.00	...	2,500.00
Proceedings	13,500.00	...	13,500.00
Anniversary book	8,319.00	...	8,319.00
Bulletin	10,150.00	2,441.51	7,708.49
Office operation	28,490.00	8,936.63	19,553.37
Retirement	1,980.00	437.80	1,542.20
Other	1,500.00	309.98	1,190.02
Total	$89,939.00	$16,276.94	$73,662.06

Annual Meeting Account, January 1, 1948–March 31, 1948

(Contains Only All Net Items of Receipts and Expenditures Properly Charged to the 1948 Annual Meeting Account)

Receipts:	*Budget Estimate*	*Budget Receipts*	*Budget Difference*
Attendance Fees	$23,500.00	$ 1,806.00	$21,694.00
Booths	4,500.00	90.00	4,410.00
Printing	2,300.00	...	2,300.00
Total	$30,300.00	$ 1,896.00	$28,404.00

Expenditures:	*Allowed*	*Expended*	*Balance*
Salaries	$ 2,075.00	...	$ 2,075.00
Travel	3,575.00	$ 1,507.31	2,067.69
Printing	6,050.00	845.27	5,204.73
Rental	8,000.00	500.00	7,500.00
Supplies and equipment	4,500.00	855.99	3,644.01
Telephone and telegraph	300.00	...	300.00
Miscellaneous	1,150.00	...	1,150.00
Total	$25,650.00	$ 3,708.57	$21,941.43
Functional Distribution of Expenditures:			
General administration	$ 4,650.00	$ 1,763.30	$ 2,886.70
Publicity and press service	3,650.00	1,434.49	2,215.51
Booths	2,750.00	...	2,750.00
Program and daily *Bulletin*	5,450.00	10.78	5,439.22
Rental	8,000.00	500.00	7,500.00
Other	1,150.00	...	1,150.00
Total	$25,650.00	$ 3,708.57	$21,941.43

Status of Membership Report, March 31, 1948

Members	*$4.00*	*$7.50*	*$15.00*	*$35.00*	*$50.00*	*$75.00*	*$100.00*	*Total*
Active:								
First quarter	201	494	238	159	26	7	1	1,126
Second quarter	403	1,047	212	103	20	6	5	1,796
Third quarter	42	195	61	62	1	..	2	363
Fourth quarter	114	246	122	90	23	1	3	599
Total	760	1,982	633	414	70	14	11	3,884
Delinquent:								
First quarter	57	163	37	23	3	..	2	285
Second quarter	849	1,833	124	54	3	..	..	2,863
Fourth quarter	10	18	10	3	..	..	..	41
Total	916	2,014	171	80	6	0	2	3,189
Grand Total	1,676	3,996	804	494	76	14	13	7,073
New:								
First quarter	75	181	44	15	1	..	..	316
Second quarter	11	38	17	3	1	..	..	70
October	..	...	1	..	..	..	..	1
Total	86	219	62	18	2	..	..	387

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the report of the Treasurer be approved.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was presented by the chairman, Bernice Bish. She reported the nominations for officers and for the Executive Committee of the Conference and for chairmen and vice chairmen of the twelve Sections and for the Committee on Nominations. She announced that the nominations for Section chairmen and committee members would be published in the April *Bulletin*. The committee report is as follows:

The Committee on Nominations respectfully submits the following nominations for office in the National Conference of Social Work for election in 1950:

President: Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Associate Chief, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C. *First Vice President:* Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary, National Urban League, New York. *Second Vice President:* Helen Russell Wright, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago. *Third Vice President:* Donald S. Howard, Director, Department of Social Work Administration, Russell Sage Foundation, New York. *Secretary:* Marion Hathway, Professor of Public Welfare, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Members of the Executive Committee (seven to be elected): Robert E. Bondy, Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York; Major Elwood Camp, Chief, Psychiatric Social Work Branch, Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, Washington, D.C.; George F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare, Ministry of National Welfare, Ottawa, Canada; Rev. John J. Donovan, Director of Family Service, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, New York; William Haber, Institute of Public and Social Administration, University of Michigan, Detroit; Ray Johns, General Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association, Boston; Edward Lewis, Executive Director, Urban League of Greater New York, New York; Leonard W. Mayo, Vice President, Western Reserve University, Cleveland; Phyllis Osborn, Regional Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Kansas City, Mo.; C. F. Ramsay, Superintendent, Michigan Children's Institute, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Florence Sytz, Professor of Social Casework, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans; Frances Taussig, Executive Director, Jewish Social Service Association, New York; Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Dean, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

Members of the Committee on Nominations (seven to be elected): Irene Farnham Conrad, Executive Secretary, Council of Community Agencies, Nashville, Tenn.; Helen Crosby, Director, Bureau of Social and Health Agencies, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York; Marie Duffin, Consultant on Child Welfare, New York City Youth Board, New York; Leah Feder, Professor of Casework, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland; Kathryn Goodwin, Chevy Chase, Md.; Jeanette Hanford, Director, Family Service Bureau, United Charities of Chicago, Chicago; Fred K. Hoehler, Executive Director, Community Fund, Chicago; Bertha B. Howell, Assistant Director, Council of Social Agencies, Oakland, Calif.; Cora Kasius, Director of Publications, Family Service Association of America, New York; R. Maurice Moss, Executive Secretary, Urban League of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Theodate H. Soule, Director of Social Service, New York Hospital, New York; Sue Spencer, Executive Secretary,

American Association of Schools of Social Work, New York; Mary Stotsenburg, Executive Secretary, Community Chest of Louisville and Jefferson County, Louisville, Ky.; Walter W. Whitson, Director, Family Service Bureau, Houston, Texas

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the report of the committee be accepted.

Mr. Mayo then brought to the attention of the meeting the necessity for the Time and Place Committee to work a year or two in advance of the conventions and asked the pleasure of the group in authorizing the incoming president to appoint a new Committee on Time and Place. Upon motion made, seconded, and carried this authorization was given.

A brief oral report of the plans for a study of the objectives, functions, structure, and scope of the National Conference of Social Work was made by Mr. Mayo. He said that the membership would be advised of the study through the Conference *Bulletin* or by a special mailing.

Mr. Mayo spoke of the conscientious work of the Committee on Personnel in its selection of five prospects out of a group of fifty names for the position of Executive Secretary of the National Conference of Social Work. He announced that the Committee on Personnel, George Rabinoff, chairman, had now been discharged with thanks, and further interviews of the prospects would be conducted by the incoming president, Ralph Blanchard, Stanley Davies, and Florence Hollis.

Mary Bentley, of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, speaking for Dr. George Stevenson, also of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, asked if the National Conference of Social Work might not draw up a resolution urging participation in the World Health Organization—a United Nations Organization—by the United States. She stated that the bill for this participation was now pigeonholed in the Senate, and that this was a most important measure and should be acted upon at once.

The President replied that the National Conference of Social Work, according to its Constitution, cannot act upon any resolution of this nature. He said, however, that if they wished, individual members might communicate with the Senate committee which has this bill in its possession, urging action.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Friday, April 23, 1948

In the absence of the chairman, the report of the Committee of Tellers was presented by Frances Preston, a member of the committee, at the final General Session on Friday morning, April 23, as follows, these being the elected officers and members of the Executive Committee and the Committee on Nominations:

President: Ralph H. Blanchard, New York
First Vice President: Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Washington, D.C.
Second Vice President: Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.
Third Vice President: Benjamin E. Youngdahl, St. Louis, Mo.

The candidates elected to the Executive Committee for a three-year term are: Harriet M. Bartlett, Cambridge, Mass.; Florence R. Day, Northampton, Mass.; A. A. Heckman, St. Paul, Minn.; Beth Muller, Chicago; Wilber I. Newstetter, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Howard L. Russell, Chicago; Ernest F. Witte, Seattle, Wash.

The candidates elected to the Committee on Nominations for a three-year term are: Herschel Alt, New York; Charles F. Ernst, Boston; Arthur E. Fink, Chapel Hill, N.C.; Ralph G. Hurlin, New York; Isabel P. Kennedy, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mary S. Labaree, Washington, D.C.; Marietta Stevenson, Urbana, Ill.

The results of the Section elections were printed in the April, 1948 *Bulletin*.

The Conference adjourned at 12:45 P.M., Friday, April 23, 1948, to reassemble in Cleveland, June 12–18, 1949. The final official registration at the Seventy-fifth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 6,519.

Respectfully submitted.

JANE CHANDLER
Acting Executive Secretary

APPENDIX C: AUDIT REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK FOR THE YEARS 1946 AND 1947

COLUMBUS, OHIO, MARCH 30, 1948

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
COLUMBUS, OHIO

Herein is my report on the audit of the accounts of the National Conference of Social Work for the years 1946 and 1947.

A statement is attached showing an analysis of cash receipts and disbursements for these years.

A careful audit has indicated that all receipts of cash seem to have been properly recorded and deposited in bank, and that all disbursements were by properly signed voucher check.

It is my opinion that this report correctly shows the cash transactions of the National Conference of Social Work for the periods indicated, as well as the true balances at the end of each period.

Respectfully submitted,
A. L. PETERS, C.P.A.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK STATEMENTS OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEARS 1946 AND 1947

Receipts	*1946*	*1947*
Memberships	$40,560.63	$46,814.87
Sales of the *Bulletin*	73.50	80.25
Sales of the *Proceedings*	2,688.33	274.92
Contributions	2,241.00	12,267.34
Attendance fees	1,678.00	2,506.00
Refunds (principally traveling)	89.30	1,368.18
Interest on Reserve Account	54.28	....
Miscellaneous	.75	....
Total Operating Fund receipts	$47,385.79	$63,311.56
Attendance fees	$ 4,508.66	$ 8,597.00
Booths	2,637.50	3,210.00
Printing	1,228.90	1,186.25
Refunds (principally traveling)	303.34	571.45
Total Annual Meeting receipts	$ 8,678.40	$13,564.70
Total receipts	$56,064.19	$76,876.26
Balance at beginning of year	7,239.29	895.98
Total Cash to Account for	$63,303.48	$77,772.24
Disbursements		
Salaries	$26,274.66	$28,305.11
Traveling	7,527.97	8,170.23
Printing	5,988.73	11,198.35
Postage	1,799.59	2,783.43
Supplies	646.12	567.84
Telephone and telegraph	852.07	1,132.46
Equipment and repairs	648.55	371.85
Rent	1,500.00	1,800.00
Retirement	3,053.30	1,272.60
Miscellaneous	1,042.95	1,401.67
Total Operating Fund disbursements	$49,333.94	$57,003.54
Salaries	$ 979.05	$ 941.21
Traveling	2,933.02	5,165.90
Printing	3,368.30	2,972.71
Supplies	2,734.99	3,559.83
Telephone and telegraph	342.18	206.80
Other miscellaneous convention expenses	2,105.17	5,934.25
Total Annual Meeting disbursements	$12,462.71	$18,780.70
Proceedings	$ 610.85	$ 1,010.00
Total disbursements	$62,407.50	$76,794.24
Cash balance at End of Year	$ 895.98	$ 978.00

APPENDIX D: CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Preamble

The National Conference of Social Work is a voluntary association of individual and organization members who have joined the Conference to promote and share in discussion of the problems and methods identified with the field of social work and immediately related fields. The Conference is a forum for such discussion. It does not take an official position on controversial issues and adopts no resolutions except occasional resolutions of courtesy.

Article I. Membership

Any person or organization interested in the purposes and work of the Conference may, upon payment of the membership fee prescribed for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. The Executive Committee of the Conference shall determine what classifications of membership shall exist within the Conference and shall prescribe the fee for each classification, provided that such action shall be submitted to the membership by a mail vote. A majority of the valid ballots cast in such mail vote shall prevail. Ballots to be valid must be postmarked for return not more than thirty days from the date of mailing.

Article II. Officers

1. The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second and Third Vice Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Secretary. The President and the Vice Presidents and the Secretary shall be elected annually by the Conference membership by mail ballot in the manner hereinafter prescribed and shall serve until their successors are elected and take office. The remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

2. *The President.*—The President shall be chairman ex officio of both the Executive and the Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees not otherwise provided for by this Constitution or by vote of the Conference membership or of the Executive Committee.

3. *The Treasurer.*—The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such banks as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive

Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants selected annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of such bond to be paid by the Conference.

4. *The Secretary.*—The Secretary shall have the duties usually associated with the office.

5. *The Executive Secretary.*—The Executive Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the Constitution and by the Executive Committee. He shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall be managing editor of the volume of *Proceedings,* the periodical *Bulletin,* and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as may be fixed by the Executive Committee.

Article III. Committees

1. *The Executive Committee.*—The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First, Second and Third Vice Presidents, the President of the preceding year, the Secretary and the Treasurer, all serving ex officio, and twenty-one other members who shall be elected by the Conference membership by mail, seven each year for a term of three years. Vacancies shall be filled by the Executive Committee. If an elected member is elected to an office by virtue of which he becomes a member ex officio, his elected membership shall be regarded as vacant while he holds such office, and such vacancy shall be filled like any other vacancy. No person shall be elected to the Executive Committee for more than two consecutive terms. The Executive Committee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing this Constitution and not in conflict therewith. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all meetings of the Executive Committee. In the discretion of the President and the Executive Secretary, matters may be considered by mail vote but in such cases a majority vote of the full membership of the Executive Committee shall be necessary for a decision.

2. *The Committee on Nominations.*—There shall be a Committee on Nominations of twenty-one members, seven elected each year for a term of three years. The members of the Committee on Nominations shall be nominated by the Committee on Nominations and elected by the official ballot submitted by mail to all members of record of the Conference as hereinafter provided. The President of the Conference shall within thirty

days after the annual meeting of the Conference appoint the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations from the membership of that Committee.

3. *The Committee on Program.*—There shall be a Committee on Program which shall consist of the President, the President of the preceding year, the Executive Secretary, six elected members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee for a term of three years, and the chairmen of all sections. The Committee on Program, subject to the general authority of the Executive Committee, shall have supervision over the program of the annual meeting of the Conference.

Article IV. Annual Meetings

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the Executive Committee. The President shall annually appoint a subcommittee to advise the Executive Committee on the time and place of the annual meeting.

Article V. Finance

1. The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action on any question involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question has first been submitted to, and acted on, by the Executive Committee. The annual budget of the Conference shall be approved by the Executive Committee and shall be printed in the first available issue of the Conference *Bulletin* after such approval. The fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

2. The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity and that all such funds may be subject to change of objects.

Article VI. Sections

1. The program of the annual meetings of the Conference shall be grouped under sections which the Executive Committee shall have power to establish for periods of one year or more. The Executive Committee shall review the section structure of the Conference at least as often as once every five years.

2. Each section shall be in charge of a committee of not fewer than nine members nominated and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One third of the members of the section committee shall be elected each year to serve a term of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or section committee members should, so far as possible, be members of the Conference or on the staffs or boards of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one section committee at the same time. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on section committees. In addition to the nine

members nominated and elected as specified above, the chairman of each section may appoint not more than three other members to serve for not more than one year.

3. Each section shall have power to arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Committee on Program.

4. Vacancies in the section committee or vacancies in the office of chairman or vice chairman between meetings shall be filled by appointment by the Chairman of the Committee on Program.

Article VII. Associate Groups

Independent organizations, to be known as Associate or Special Groups, may arrange with the Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the Conference in the city in which such annual meeting is held. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

Article VIII. Business Sessions

1. At the annual meeting of the Conference at least one session, to be known as the Annual Business Meeting, shall be held at which only matters of Conference business shall be considered. The Annual Business Meeting shall be held not earlier than the third day of the annual meeting, and the time and place shall be announced in the last issue of the Conference *Bulletin* preceding the annual meeting.

2. At such Annual Business Meeting of the Conference, the right to vote shall be vested in all persons who are members of the Conference at the time of such meeting.

3. Any organization member of the Conference may designate in a manner to be prescribed by the Executive Committee of the Conference, any member of its board or staff to cast its vote at any Annual Business Meeting of the Conference. Such vote shall be cast only by the person so designated.

4. At any Annual Business Meeting of the Conference, fifty members qualified to vote shall constitute a quorum.

Article IX. Nomination and Election of Officers and Committees

1. The Committee on Nominations shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice President, Second Vice President, Third Vice President, and Secretary, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body. It shall also have the function of nominating one or more persons for the offices of chairman and vice chairman and

at least twice as many persons as are to be elected for the committee of each section of the Conference. It shall further have the function of nominating at least twice as many persons as there are vacancies in the Committee on Nominations. The Committee on Nominations shall solicit from the Conference membership suggestions for all positions for which the Committee submits nominations.

2. The Committee on Nominations shall present its report at the Annual Business Meeting held prior to the mail ballot by which the persons nominated are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following presentation of such report, which publication shall in no case be later than November 1.

3. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not fewer than twenty-five members, provided such petition is filed at the Conference office not later than January 1 preceding the mail ballot by which the persons so nominated are to be elected. Such nominations shall be printed on the official ballot.

4. After nomination but prior to election, if a vacancy occurs in the list of nominees for officers of the Conference, or for members of the Executive Committee or of the Committee on Nominations, the Executive Committee of the Conference shall have power to fill such vacancy. If, after nomination but prior to election, a vacancy occurs in the list of nominees for section officers or committees, the President of the Conference shall have power, after consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Nominations that prepared the list in which the vacancy occurs, to fill such vacancy.

5. Not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls, the official ballot shall be sent by mail, at their address of record in the Conference office, to all individuals and organization members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by renewal of membership or otherwise.

6. Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office, but ballots so returned shall be valid only if received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the next annual meeting of the Conference; or they may be deposited at the registration desk provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period which said registration desk is officially open, but not later than the end of the second day of the annual meeting of the Conference. Ballots returned by mail shall be in accordance with such regulations as may be established by the Executive Committee.

7. The President shall appoint a committee of three tellers to whom the Executive Secretary shall turn over all valid ballots cast as provided above. The ballots shall be counted in a manner to be approved by the tellers and the result shall be announced at a general session of the current annual meeting of the Conference. Election shall be by a plurality of the valid ballots cast.

Article X. Rules of Order

Except as otherwise provided by this Constitution or by standing orders established by the Executive Committee, Robert's Rules of Order shall govern all Annual Business Meetings of the Conference and the meetings of all Conference Committees.

Article XI. Amendments

This Constitution may be amended by a mail vote of the Conference membership, a favorable majority of those voting being necessary for an amendment to prevail. All amendments shall be reviewed by the Executive Committee before being submitted to such mail vote. If an amendment is proposed by action of the Executive Committee, it shall be submitted to a mail vote with or without an accompanying statement, as the Executive Committee may decide. Any amendment proposed by fifty members of the Conference shall be submitted to a mail vote of the Conference membership, but only after review by the Executive Committee. In the case of an amendment so proposed, the Executive Committee shall not have power to change the wording of the proposed amendment, but the Executive Committee may, if it so decides, accompany such proposed amendment with a statement thereon; if it does so decide, it shall offer the proponents of the proposed amendment an opportunity to prepare a statement of their own, and such statement shall accompany the proposed amendment and the statement of the Executive Committee when sent to the Conference membership for mail vote. Ballots cast on proposed amendments shall be in accordance with such regulations as may be established by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall prescribe such other reasonable conditions to govern the voting on proposed amendments as it may deem necessary and proper.

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